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THE WORKS

OF

THE REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

EDITED BY

HIS LINEAL DESCENDANT

THE REV. R. BINGHAM, JUN., M.A.

FORMERLY OF MAGDALEN HALL, OXFORD,

AND

FOR MANY YEARS CURATE OF TRINITY CHURCH, GOSPORT.

A NEW EDITION IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. X.

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TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS[a],

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, AND ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IN regard to the eminency of your office and station in the Church, which entitles you more than ordinarily to be a defender of the present constitution, and a patronizer of all honest endeavours that are used to support it, I do with great submission present to your Grace this following Discourse; which contains a modest vindication of the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of our Church, from the chief objections of Dissenters, and returns answer to them upon the principles of the Reformed Church of France.

The argument, I confess, is something singular: there being few that have trod in the same path before, and none, that I know of, who have set themselves purposely to examine the French Synods with any design to justify the Church of England thereby. But I hope the rareness of the argument will be so far from being a prejudice against it, that it will excite the curiosity of those for whose benefit it is intended, to make a new search into these matters: and when they find so exact an harmony and agreement betwixt the French and English Church upon the chief points controverted, that may perhaps induce them to lay aside their prejudices and mistakes, and

[a] [Dr. Thomas Tenison, from 1694 to 1715. ED.]

return to their ancient communion again, from which, if the French Church may be allowed to be judge, they have unreasonably departed.

The business of lay-communion I have not very much insisted on, because that dispute seems to be almost at an end: it being confessed by Dissenters themselves, as well in their writings as practice upon some occasions, that lay-communion with the Church of England is not unlawful. But that which is now chiefly pretended to keep up the present unhappy separation is the difficulty of clerical communion; that is, the hard terms and conditions which are required of those that are to enter into the ministry. I have therefore more industriously all along in this Discourse set myself to examine these; and, by stating things exactly, made it appear that the terms of clerical communion are not more difficult in the English Church than they are in the Reformed Church of France: and that if Dissenters will allow themselves to be determined and concluded either by the opinion and judgment, or the synodical rules and discipline of the French Church, they ought to submit to the settled rules and orders of the English Church, and put an end to the present separation.

The mischiefs of division are so apparently great and dangerous at this juncture, that they will authorize any man to offer an argument in a rational and peaceable way, which may tend to put a stop to them. I have done what I could towards this in the present Discourse: and therefore, as I cannot doubt of your Grace's favourable acceptance and approbation of it, so I will presume to hope it may do some service to the Church and Dissenters together, in promoting the great ends of unity and peace, which is the only thing aimed at therein by him who is,

With all due observance,

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

1706.

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The Sermon on 'Buy the Truth,' pp. 425–448.

A Discourse on the Mercy of God, &c., 449–467.

That the Reader may more easily have recourse to the passages alleged in this work, I will here set down a Catalogue of the French National Synods and such other Authors[b] as I have made use of in compiling the following Collections.

National Synods of the Reformed Church of France.

1. At Paris 1559
2. At Poictiers 1560
3. At Orleans 1562
4. At Lyons 1563
5. At Paris, the 2d 1565
6. At Vertueil 1567
7. At Rochelle 1571
8. At Nismes 1572
9. At St. Foy 1578
10. At Figeac 1579
11. At Rochelle, the 2d 1581
12. At Vitré 1583
13. At Montauban 1594
14. At Saumur 1596
15. At Montpelier 1598
16. At Gergeau 1601
17. At Gap 1603
18. At Rochelle, the 3d 1607
19. At St. Maixant 1609
20. At Privas 1612
21. At Tonneins 1614
22. At Vitré, the 2d 1617
23. At Alez 1620
24. At Charenton 1623
25. At Castres 1626
26. At Charenton, the 2d 1631
27. At Alençon 1637
28. At Charenton, the 3d 1644
29. At Loudun 1659

These twenty-nine National Synods are in the same order as that in which I have here set them down, in the book called 'Synodicon in Gallia Reformata,' 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1692.

In the first volume of the same Synodicon there is also the Book of Discipline of the Church of France, and their Confession of Faith, the same that occurs in the 'Corpus Confessionum,' 4to. Genev. 1612., together with the Edict of Nantes, and the Edict of Nismes, and the Secret Articles of the Edict of Nantes.

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

[b] [Reproduced in this edition in the Index of Authors at the end of this volume. Ed.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH CHURCH'S APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THAT which first put me upon compiling this work, and furnished me with the principal part of the materials for it, was the perusal of a book entitled, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata:* or, *The Acts, Decrees, and Canons of the National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France;* published in two volumes, in folio, London, 1692, by one Mr. John Quick[1],

[1] [The full title of this book is as follows: Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or, the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and Canons of those famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France. Being, I. A most faithful and impartial History of the Rise, Growth, Perfection, and Decay of the Reformation in that Kingdom, with its fatal Catastrophe upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in the year 1685. II. The Confession of Faith and Discipline of those Churches. III. A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Sacred Politics, Cases of Conscience, and Controversies in Divinity, determined and resolved by those grave Assemblies. IV. Many excellent Expedients for preventing and healing Schisms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the dismembered Body of divided Protestants. V. The Laws, Government, and Maintenance of their Colleges, Universities, and Ministers, together with their Exercise of Discipline upon delinquent Ministers and Church-members. VI. A record of very many illustrious Events of Divine Providence relating to these Churches. The whole collected and composed out of Original Manuscript Acts of those Renowned Synods. A Work never before extant in any Language. In two Volumes. By John Quick, Minister of the Gospel in London. Printed for T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson at the Three Bibles and Crowns in Cheapside, and the Golden Lion, St. Paul's Church-yard, London, 1692. fol. ED.]

who styles himself 'a minister of the Gospel;' that is, as he elsewhere owns himself to be, a dissenting minister among the Presbyterians.

I was the more inclined to make a curious search into these Synods, because the title-page tells us the whole was collected out of the original Manuscript Acts of those Synods; being a work never before exstant in any language; and that therein were contained many excellent expedients for preventing and healing schisms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the dismembered body of divided Protestants. I considered that there never was greater occasion for such expedients than at this present juncture; and that if these Synods afforded any such expedients, they were likely to weigh as much with Dissenters, especially those of the Presbyterian party, as any other arguments: considering,

1. That they themselves have commonly made their appeals to the foreign Churches against the Church of England; blaming her establishment, and methods, and measures of reformation; and requiring her to be reformed in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the example of the best reformed Churches, which are the very words of the Solemn League and Covenant.

2. That in all probability they will freely own the French Church to be one of the best reformed Churches, and let her authority be of some consideration with them.

3. That the translator and publisher of these Synods, being one of themselves, a professed dissenting minister, cannot by them be suspected to have translated any thing partially in favour of the Church of England.

If therefore it could be made appear to them out of these very Synods, which are the most public and authentic rule of the French Church, that the methods and measures of reformation in the Church of England are the same that the French Church did take, or would have taken if she could: that our expedients for preventing and healing schisms in the Church are no other than what are laid down and prescribed in these Synods: that our Articles and Homilies contain no other doctrine but what is publicly taught in the Articles and Homilies of the French Church: that the obligations against our Li-

turgy and Rubrics will hold as well against the Liturgy and public offices that are used among them: and finally, that our Canons require but the same things or things equivalent to what the Canons of these Synods enjoin: I say, if all this, or but the greatest part of it, could be made appear, I was willing to persuade myself that the sober and peaceable nonconformists might be brought to entertain a better notion of the English Church, for the sake of its agreement with the reformed Church of France.

Now these Synods give us the greatest light in this matter of any thing that was ever yet published; and evidently prove that the difference betwixt the French and English Church, whether in principles or practice, is not so great as some have studiously endeavoured to represent it. In most things they are agreed: and in such things wherein the French Church differs from ours, she owns there is no necessity our Church should be tied to follow her example. For in some things she freely owns our Church to be more happy and perfect than herself: and in other points wherein they have different usages, that our Church's practice is no more to be condemned than her own; because every Church has power in such things to prescribe for herself, and is not bound to take her model from the example of any other. Upon which ground the French Church resolves it to be unlawful to make a separation from the Church of England, notwithstanding some different customs here which are not to be found in the French Churches; or some customs among them which are not used among us: for these things are not of that moment as to authorize any man to make a separation.

If these things were duly and impartially considered upon the principles of the French Church, they would go a great way towards healing our present divisions, and would settle a more lasting peace among us than is to be expected from any other methods; whilst men retain such notions of things and wrong principles as are destructive of unity and peace in all communions. The following collections will show that the same persons who are nonconformists and dissenters in England must have been nonconformists also in the Church of France, had they lived there and acted upon the same reasons

and principles that they do against the Church of England. Therefore it must be worth their while to consider what is here said, lest they act upon such principles as would oblige them, if directly followed, to separate from all the Churches of the Reformation. The Church of France is by their own confession one of the best reformed Churches: and these national Synods are the best authority of the Church of France: so that if these Synods justify the proceedings of the Church of England, and vindicate her constitution, it must be owned by dissenters themselves that she has one of the best human authorities on her side that any Church can boast of: and how far that consideration ought to weigh with them, I must leave to their own consciences to determine.

For my own part, I can safely say, I have had no other ends to serve in this discourse, but the ends of truth and peace; for "I am one of them who are peaceable and faithful in Israel." I could easily be content to sacrifice any interest of my own to re-unite dissenters into one communion; but I cannot sacrifice truth to any interest or design, though never so peaceable, without forfeiting the other part of the character of being faithful also. "It is required in stewards that they be found faithful;" and I hope I have answered this character, both in the general design of these collections and the particular use and application of them. I am not sensible that I have quoted any one passage wrong, or misapplied it to a wrong use.

In citing the Synods I keep as near as may be to Mr. Quick's translation; and for the other French authors I use, I quote their words from the authors themselves, and in their sense, to the best of my understanding. I have also purposely avoided all personal reflections in speaking of adversaries, and never pursued their character, but only their arguments and their cause.

The principal person whom I take objections from, and answer them, upon the principles and grounds of the French Church, is Mr. Baxter[2], in one of his last books, entitled,

[2] [He died in 1691, at the age of 76. Hence the work referred to by the Author as one of Baxter's last books was published only two years before his death. This indefatigable writer produced, in all, 168 distinct pieces. His *practical works* were collected and published in four volumes, folio, in 1707, and were reprinted in 23 volumes, 8vo., in 1830.

English Nonconformity, as under King Charles II. and King James II. stated and argued. Lond. 1689. 4*to.*, where he has summed up the principal reasons of their nonconformity. To these I return answers, either from the French Synods, or their most approved writers, as the subject requires; and having competently satisfied them, if there be any other objections not here answered in this book, it may be presumed, from the specimen I have given, that they are capable of good answers upon the same grounds, and may be the subject of further inquiry, according as men are disposed to seek for satisfaction.

Meanwhile I heartily pray to God to give all men sober thoughts and seasonable consideration, to perceive in time whither our divisions tend; lest, as King James once told the French Church, 'the sparks of dissension inflame us into such a schism as will consume us all.' For there is an enemy that makes his advantage of these our divisions, and perhaps secretly instigates and encourages them, who hates the very name and profession of the Protestant religion in general.

If it be said that it concerns the Church of England to prevent this danger, as much as the dissenters; I freely own it, and say, he is no true Churchman, nor true Protestant, who will not contribute his utmost endeavour toward it: but then I cannot think the true method of preventing our dangers is to make such concessions to dissenters as will shake or destroy the present constitution; but to reason them into union upon such principles as are common to all the Churches of the Reformation: for such principles are doubtless both the most proper and most secure method of uniting and preserving us against the common enemy, and consequently not only the most reasonable, but the most seasonable method also; and those are the only principles I have insisted on in this discourse.

Now if an union could once happily be effected upon this foot, or there were but a fair prospect and tendency towards it, then perhaps it might become the wisdom of our ecclesiastical

For a most complete list of his *controversial and other works*, which have never been collected, and that in chronological order, see Mr. Darling's Cyclopædia Bibliographica, Lond. 1854. Ed.]

synods to consider, when they could do it freely and without any danger to the Constitution, whether there be any obsolete forms, or expressions, or rubrics, rules and canons, which might be more adapted to the present state and circumstances of the Church? But as this is none of my concern, so I intermeddle not in it, but leave it to the wisdom and discretion of our superiors legally assembled, and sufficiently authorized to proceed upon so important an affair.

THE

FRENCH CHURCH'S APOLOGY

FOR THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

OF THE GENERAL RULES AND EXPEDIENTS FOR PRESERVING THE UNITY AND PEACE OF THE CHURCH; SHOWING THAT THE SAME METHODS ARE USED IN THE FRENCH CHURCH, IN ORDER TO THIS END, THAT ARE USED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the use and expediency of ecclesiastical synods, to preserve the unity and peace of the Church; and of the contrary principles of Latitudinarians and Independents, condemned by the French Church.

WHEN we discourse of the unity and peace of the Church in general, there are none, who call themselves Christians, of any denomination whatsoever, but will readily acknowledge both themselves and others to be under an obligation to preserve "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace:" but when we descend to particular inquiries about the proper methods and expedients to preserve this unity, here it is that difference arises, and men are unaccountably divided in their sentiments from one another.

The Church of England, as appears both from her constitution and practice, has generally thought the free use of ecclesiastical synods one good expedient for preserving unity: another has been the obligation arising either from royal injunctions, or canons, or acts of uniformity: a third, the obligation of subscriptions, and oaths in some certain cases: a fourth, *the censuring and* silencing non-conformists, and pro-

hibiting separate assemblies: a fifth, the denying separatists the privilege of occasional communion: with some others of the like nature.

Now these are commonly cried out against, as arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings in the Church, by those who are of different sentiments or different interests from her; as if these methods were but so many encroachments upon the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and the singular unparalleled impositions of the Church of England. But if we can show that these methods are not so peculiar to the Church of England, but that the very same methods have ever been most strictly observed and practised in the reformed Church of France; then at least the charge of singularity will vanish, and either the English Church be justified, or the French Church involved in the same accusations. I will therefore compare the practice of the two Churches upon these heads in this book, beginning with the free use of ecclesiastical synods, which is the first expedient for preserving unity.

Some there are who resolve all church-power into congregational assemblies, and deny not only the authority of synods in determining controversies of faith, but even their power to decree any thing that concerns external order and discipline. This I take to be the avowed doctrine of the Independents. Others say, they do not think all synods simply unlawful; but yet it is plain, by their sly insinuations and scandalous reflections on the practice of the whole Catholic Church, that they intend to signify so much: for they say, 'It may reasonably be doubted, whether ever the Church had such happy times as that all the conditions requisite in a true Christian synod were ever observed in any one synod, except that of the Apostles; and, consequently, whether synods have not done more harm than good to the Church, as the history of all synods does manifestly declare.: and that it had been better for the Church, if there never had been any synod called to decide any controversies of faith.' So Limborch[1], and others who fol-

[1] Theologia Christiana, l. 7. c. 19. n. 4. (p. 832.) Merito tamen dubitari possit, an unquam tam felicia fuerint ecclesiæ tempora, ut omnia, quæ in vere Christiana synodo requiruntur, observata sint, præter synodum Apostolicam; *ac proinde*, an non per synodos plus mali quam boni redundaverit in ecclesiam; quemadmodum omnium synodorum historia clare docet: ac proinde, an non melius consultum fuisset ecclesiæ, si nulla unquam synodus ad decisionem dogmatum fidei convocata fuisset.

low his latitudinarian principles, with no other design but to establish their own errors, by enervating and disgracing that authority, which of all others was most likely to give a check to them.

My business at present is not with this, or any other foreign divine; though I could not but take notice of this passage *in transitu;* and perhaps it may provoke some abler hand to examine his chapter, *De Synodis*[2], and lay open his fallacious reasonings in it. The only persons I am concerned with here are those among ourselves who challenge the Church of England of usurpation, for using her synodical power as an expedient to preserve her own peace. Now if this be any crime, it is much more imputable to the Church of France, who reckon their synods the main preservatives of union and concord against heresies and schisms; and expressly condemn the principles of Independency, which tend to undermine the authority of them. Their Book of Discipline, which, I shall show, all ministers by their subscription and oath are obliged to observe, has this canon[3]: 'Ministers shall inform their Churches [Churches shall be informed], that our ecclesiastical assemblies of colloquies and synods, whether provincial or national, are the bands and buttresses of their concord and union against schisms, heresies, and all other inconveniences; that so they may discharge their duty in the use of means for the continuance and upholding of those ecclesiastical assemblies.'

Their very practice proves the sense they had of the usefulness of them. For they had no less than twenty-nine national synods[4] in less than the space of an hundred years; besides provincial synods yearly in every province, where appeals were made, all causes heard, controversies decided, heresies and schisms nipped in the bud, and necessary rules and canons made for the well-being and government of the Church.

As to the contrary principles of the Independents, none can express themselves more zealously against them than both their private writers and public synods do. Monsieur Daillé

[2] Ibid. c. 19. (pp. 831, seqq.)

[3] Ch. 6. art. 5. (Quick, v. 1. Introduct. p. 37.)

[4] [See the Catalogue of them inserted after the Contents prefixed to this volume, where they are arranged in chronological order, and according to the orthography of Aymon. Ed.]

in his answer to Adam and Cottiby[5], having occasion to speak of them by name, says, 'they were a novel sect, never heard of before by our forefathers or us, whose pernicious maxims several of our writers have publicly refuted; being such as would utterly subvert the whole order of our Churches, as well as the kingdoms and estates of the world.'

He says also, in the title of the chapter[6], 'We are reproached for dethroning kings, and putting them to death by form of justice: but our answer is, that this is a mere calumny of Mr. Cottiby, who falsely imputes to us the action of some factious persons in England, wherein we had no concern; and who are of a religion also which we do not in any wise acknowledge.'

By this it is evident, they not only disavowed those state-principles of the Independents which led them to put the king to death by form of justice, but also their anti-synodical principles, which tend to bring disorder and confusion into the Church.

And that it was so appears yet more evidently from an express canon of the whole French Church, made against the Independents by name, in the third Synod of Charenton[7], 1644, as soon as ever the name began to be known among them: 'Upon report made by certain deputies of the maritime provinces, that there do arrive unto them from other countries certain persons going by the name of *Independents*, and so called, for that they teach that every particular church should of right be governed by its own laws, without any dependency or subordination unto any person whatsoever in ecclesiastical matters; and without being obliged to own or acknowledge the authority of classes [colloquies] or synods in matters of discipline and order; and that they settle their dwellings in this kingdom: a thing of great and dangerous consequence, if not in time carefully prevented;—now this assembly, fearing lest the contagion of this poison should diffuse itself insensibly,

[5] Replique, &c. part. 2. ch. 21. (p. 127.)... Nouvelle secte, inouïe à nos peres et à nous, et dont quelques-uns des nostres ont publiquement refuté les maximes pernicieuses, et qui renversent de fond en comble l'ordre de nos eglises; aussi bien, que celuy des empereurs et des estats du monde.

[6] Ibid. (p. 124.) Que nous détrônons les roys, &c.

[7] Ch. 12. art. 9. (Q. v. 2. p. 467. A. v. 2. p. 678.)

and bring in with it a world of disorders and confusions upon us, and judging the said sect of *Independentism* not only prejudicial to the Church of God, (because as much as in it lieth it doth usher in confusion, and opens a door to all kinds of singularities, irregularities, and extravagancies, and barreth the use of those means which would most effectually prevent them,) but also is most dangerous to the Civil State; (for in case it should prevail and gain ground among us; it would form as many religions as there be parishes and distinct particular assemblies among us;) all the provinces therefore are enjoined, but more especially those which border upon the sea, to be exceeding careful that this evil do not get footing in this kingdom; that so peace and uniformity in religion and discipline may be preserved inviolably, and nothing may be innovated or changed among us, which may in any wise derogate from that duty and service which we owe to God and the king.'

CHAP. II.

Uniformity required by the Church of France as well as the Church of England.

It appears from the foregoing canon, that among other reasons which the synod assigns against Independency, this was none of the least considerable in their opinion, that it was likely to divide the Church into several sects, and destroy that peace and uniformity in religion and discipline which they think ought to be preserved in every national Church. And this one thing were enough to give us their judgment on this point, whether the governors of a Church may not lawfully exact uniformity in divine worship from all those who are professed members of it? But besides this, which is only spoken by the by in this canon against Independents, the Synods are very frequent and express in requiring and enjoining uniformity both in minister and people in all their Churches.

To this purpose we find a canon in the Synod of Orleans[8], 1562. 'Whereas our brother, the Minister of Varennes [in Picardy], doth usually administer the Lord's Supper every

[8] Ch. 3. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 27. A. v. 1. p. 29.)

month, the council doth advise our brother of Montmejor to admonish him, in the council's name, to follow the general practice of our churches; that so there may be no diversity among us, and our uniformity may be preserved.' It seems they had so great a regard for uniformity, that they thought a singular practice even in a good thing, viz. holding monthly communions, ought to give way to it: which is something more than ever the Church of England used her authority to require.

The Synod of Gap[9], 1603, commands all the churches 'to observe one and the same form in ordination of pastors; by which the person to be ordained shall, during that action, be humbly on his knees,' &c.

And, in the 4th and 5th articles of the same chapter, suspension is threatened to all preachers who refuse to conform themselves to the established order about preaching and catechizing.

The Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, made several decrees of the same import. As this[10]: 'It being represented, that the different courses taken in divers provinces about the choice, examination, and ordination of ministers, brought with it a world of inconveniences: this synod judgeth it exceeding needful to establish an express canon, to be observed exactly, universally, and uniformly by all the provinces.' Accordingly they made a canon; which is there recited, and inserted into the body of their Ecclesiastical Discipline, which they are all sworn to observe.

The same Synod appointed a form of prayer to be used at ordination; and adds in the conclusion of all[12], 'This canon and form shall be unanimously observed by all the provinces.'

So again, giving orders about several other matters, the close is[13], 'If any province act otherwise, they are enjoined for the future to conform to this order.'

Particularly, about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper[14],

[9] Ch. 3. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 228. A. ibid. p. 259.)

[10] Ch. 3. art. 1. (Q. ibid. p. 313. A. ibid. p. 357.)

[11] Ch. 1. art. 4 and 5. (Quick, Introduct. sect. 12. v. 1. p. 17.)

[12] Ch. 3. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 314. A. v. 1. p. 358.)... Et ce formulaire avec les susdits reglemens seront unanimement observés par toutes les provinces.

[13] Ibid. art. 8. (Q. ibid. p. 314. A. ibid.)

[14] Ch. 6. art. 14. (Q. ibid. p. 327. A. ibid. p. 375.)

'That hereafter there may be a general uniformity in the churches of this kingdom in the administration of the Lord's Supper; and all scruples, by reason of difference and singularity, arising in weak but honest hearts, incapable of distinguishing between the substance and circumstance of the sacred action, may be prevented; all pastors are enjoined to abstain from any new or private methods of their own; as of reading the words of institution between the ordinary long prayer and that appointed particularly for this sacrament, which ought indeed to be read after: nor shall they, whilst reading the words of institution, uncover the bread and wine: nor shall they bring the people up in ranks unto the table, there to sit or stand; whereas they should cause the faithful to pass one after another up unto it:..... nor shall the cup be given by the faithful one to another; it being contrary to the express letter of a canon of our Discipline, which ordaineth pastors ... to deliver it,' &c.

These are some few of those canons which expressly require uniformity in the French Churches: but I must transcribe their whole doctrine, discipline, liturgy, and canons of no less than twenty-nine national synods, should I produce all that might be alleged under this head out of them: for every canon and constitution among them runs in a style of authority, and requires submission and obedience, both in ministers and people, to whatever is prescribed by them; as any one that peruses them will easily perceive.

CHAP. III.

Subscription and oaths required in the French Church, more than in the Church of England.

As to what concerns the ministry in particular, I have this thing further to observe, that they are obliged to conformity and uniformity, not only by the bare authority of their synods and canons, but also by many personal obligations of subscriptions and oaths, which all persons make at their entrance on the ministry, and frequently repeat in their synodical meetings, and on many other occasions.

One of the canons of their Book of Discipline is this[15]:

[15] Ch. 1. art. 9 and 21. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. pp. 19 and 21.)

'Our confession of faith and church-discipline shall be subscribed by such as are chosen into the ministry, both in the churches in which they are ordained and in those unto which they are sent.'

The same is required by the canons of their national Synods of Orleans[16], 1562, Rochelle[17], 1571, Privas[18], 1612.

It is exacted also of all regents and masters of schools, by their Book of discipline[19]; and by the Synod of Alez[20], 1620.

As also of all doctors and professors of divinity in their Universities[21].

All elders and deacons are obliged to make the same subscription at their ordination[22].

And in some cases it was required of private persons; as appears from a canon of the Synod of Alez, 1620; where, the question being moved, 'Whether a person that was never called to the office of an elder might warrantably read the Word of God and the common prayers unto the church, in the minister's absence; especially in lesser churches which have no consistories, nor any persons fit to read?' it was answered by the synod[23] 'that the consistory had full liberty to choose any person, whom it conceived meet, to read the Scriptures and prayers, although he be not in the eldership, provided he be of sufficient years and unblameable life; and that he have subscribed the Confession of Faith and Church Discipline.'

But in their national synods the custom was for the deputies of the provinces not only to subscribe the Confession of Faith and Church Discipline, but also to swear to them. Thus in the Synod of Saumur[24], 1596: 'The Confession of Faith was read, approved, and sworn to by all the deputies of this present

[16] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. v. 1. p. 22. A. v. 1. p. 23.)

[17] Ch. 3. art. 5. (Q. ibid. p. 267. A. ibid. p. 101.)

[18] Ch. 4. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 348. A. ibid. p. 399.)

[19] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 26.)

[20] Ch. 5. art. 11. (Q. v. 2. p. 9. A. v. 2. p. 149.)

[21] See Book of Discipline, ch. 2. art. 3. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 26.)—Syn. of Nismes, 1572, ch. 3. art. 15. (Q. v. 1. p. 106. A. v. 1. p. 115.)—Syn. of Gap, 1603, ch. 3. art. 7. (Q. ibid. p. 229. A. ibid. p. 260.)

[22] See Syn. of Vertueil, 1567, ch. 3. art. 17. (Q. ibid. p. 72. A. ibid. p. 76.)—Book of Discipline, ch. 3. art. 1. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 27.)

[23] Ch. 5. art. 12. (Q. v. 2. p. 7. A. v. 2. p. 149.)

[24] Ch. 2. art. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 176. A. v. 1. p. 196.)—See ibid. ch. 3.

synod; and the Discipline of our Church being read, all the deputies approved it, and swore to see it carefully observed.'

So again in the Synod of Gergeau[25], 1601: 'The Confession of Faith being read, the pastors and elders did all unanimously protest to live and die in the said confession.' And[26] 'the pastors and elders deputed from the provinces unto this assembly have sworn and protested in the name of their provinces to cause the discipline ordained by this synod to be used and observed to the utmost of their power.'

In the second Synod of Vitré[27], 1617: 'The Confession of Faith of these reformed churches in the kingdom of France was read word by word from the beginning to the end, and approved in all its articles by all the deputies, as well for themselves as for their provinces that sent them; and all of them swore for themselves and provinces that they would teach and preach it; because they believed that it did perfectly agree with the Word of God; and they would use their best endeavour, that as it had been hitherto so it should be evermore received and taught in their churches and provinces.'

The like form of subscription and oath occurs in most of the other national synods. As that of Rochelle, 1571; Gap, 1603; St. Maixant, 1609; Tonneins, 1614; Alez, 1620; Charenton, 1623; Castres, 1626; Alençon, 1637; and Loudun, 1659.

I observe further, that they not only subscribe the Book of Articles and Discipline, but also promise to approve and submit to the decrees and resolutions of their national synods, even before they are made. For their letters of deputation, which the provinces give to their respective deputies when they send them in their name to represent them in a national synod, do always regularly contain a clause promising approbation and submission to the decrees of the synod. Therefore in the third Synod of Rochelle[28], 1607, it being observed in reading the letters of deputation that those of certain provinces

[25] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 209. A. ibid. 235.)

[26] Ibid. ch. 3. art. 50. (Q. ibid. p. 213. A. art. 44. ibid. p. 240.) Les pasteurs et les anciens des provinces, deputés en cette compagnie, ont juré et protesté au nom de leurs provinces de faire observer, autant qu'il sera possible, la discipline de nos eglises suivant toutes les modifications de ce present synode.

[27] Ch. 3. art. 16. (Q. ibid. p. 479. A. v. 2. p. 86.)

[28] Ch. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 263. A. v. 1. p. 299.)

wanted that clause which promised approbation and submission to the decrees and resolutions of the synod; they were thereupon admonished 'in no wise for the future to omit it' The like admonition was given in the Synod of Tonneins[29], 1614; and, to cut off all disputes that might arise about the different wording this form of submission, the second Synod of Vitré[30], 1617, agreed upon a precise form of words, which they ordered to be inserted into the letters of commission given to the deputies of each province: 'We promise before God to submit ourselves to all that shall be concluded and determined in your holy assembly, to obey and execute it to the utmost of our power; being persuaded that God will preside among you, and lead you by his Holy Spirit into all truth and equity by the rule of his Word, for the good and edification of his Church, &c.' And this form was required and insisted on by the next national Synod of Alez[31], 1620, and never cancelled or revoked by any of the following synods. Now I believe it can hardly be shown that ever any such form of subscription, or oath, was required by the Church of England.

Yet these were not all the subscriptions and oaths required in the French Church. For, besides their subscribing their own Liturgy, Confession of Faith, Canons, and Discipline; they were also obliged to subscribe and swear to the Decrees of the Synod of Dort, by their two great national Councils of Alez and Charenton.

The form of the oath, as it is appointed to be taken by the Synod of Alez, 1620, is in these words[32]. 'I, N. N. do swear

[29] Ch. 3, according to Quick, (ibid. p. 394.) entitled, *An order about Letters of Deputation.*—Aymon, ch. 2. art. 1. (v. 2. p. 4.) *Il est enjoint, &c.*

[30] Ch. 2. art. 1. (Q. ibid. p. 478.) We promise before God, &c.—Ch. 1. art. 20. (A. ibid. p. 81.) Nous promettons devant Dieu, &c.

[31] Ch. 1. art. 16. (Q. ibid. v. 2. p. 2. A. ibid. p. 140.)

[32] Ch. 12. (Q. ibid. p. 38. A. ibid. p. 145.) Je N. N. jure et proteste devant Dieu et cette sainte assemblée, que je reçois, aprouve, et embrasse tous les dogmes, et toutes les choses, qui ont été decidées au Synode de Dort, comme étant conformes à la Parole de Dieu, et à la Confession de nos eglises. Je jure et promis de persister dans cette doctrine, pendant toute ma vie, et de la defendre de toutes mes forces, et de n'avancer jamais rien qui lui soit contraire, soit en prêchant, enseignant dans les ecoles, ou par écrit. Je declare aussi et je proteste, que je rejette et condamne la doctrine d'Arminius, parce qu'elle fait dependre de la volonté de l'homme les decrets de l'election de Dieu, dont elle extenuë la grace à laquelle il ôte son efficacité; elle eleve l'homme et les forces du libre arbitre, ce qui la detruit et fait revivre le Pelagianisme, et est un masque avec lequel le Pa-

and protest, before God and this holy assembly, that I do receive, approve, and embrace all the doctrines taught and decided by the Synod of Dort, as perfectly agreeing with the Word of God and the Confession of our Churches. I swear and promise to persevere in the profession of this doctrine during my whole life, and to defend it to the utmost of my power; and that I will never, neither by preaching, nor teachings in the schools, nor by writing, depart from it. And I protest that I reject and condemn the doctrine of the Arminians, because it makes God's decree of election to depend upon the mutable will of man, and for that it doth extenuate and make null and void the grace of God; it exalteth man, and the powers of free will to his destruction; it reduceth into the Church of God old ejected Pelagianism, and is a mask and vizard for Popery to creep in among us under that disguise, and subverteth all assurance of everlasting life and happiness. And so may God help me, and be propitious to me; as I swear all this without any ambiguity, equivocation, or mental reservation.'

The next Synod of Charenton[33], 1623, enjoined the same oath, only with this difference, that, whereas they were informed by the king's commissioner, 'that it was a thing displeasing to him to oblige any of his subjects to swear to any decrees made in the city of Dort, which was a dependence and member of a foreign commonwealth,' they so ordered the matter, that the oath should be turned into a new form, and taken without any mention or reference had to the city or synod of Dort. Hereupon they drew up a body of canons and decrees in ninety-three articles, explaining and confirming the decrees of Dort; yet not as the decrees of Dort, but as the doctrine of the French Church, established in this present synod, and inviolably to be observed in all the churches and universities of the kingdom; at the close of which there is this form of subscription and oath, taken by all the deputies then present in the synod[34]: 'We pastors and elders, whose names are hereunder

pisme pour soit se deguiser, pour se glisser parmi nous, outre qu'elle nous ôte toutes les assûrances de la vie et du bonheur eternel. Ainsi Dieu soit à mon aide, et me soit propice, comme je fais ces serments sans aucune ambiguité, equivoque, ou reservation mentale.

[33] Ch. 14. art. 2. (Q. v. 2. p. 97. A. v. 2. p. 263.)

[34] Ibid. (Q. p. 151. n. 10. A. p. 322.)

written, deputies for the reformed Churches of France, unto the national Synod of Charenton, ... do declare with all possible sincerity, the articles and canons above mentioned to be grounded on the Word of God, and agreeable to the Confession of faith owned and received in the reformed Churches of this kingdom; from which in the presence of God we do protest that through his grace we will never depart.'

In succeeding times, the business of subscription and oaths still grew and multiplied. For by an act of the third Synod of Charenton[35], 1645, all persons to be ordained were obliged to subscribe the confession of faith, the liturgy of the Church, and the canons of Alez, Charenton, and Alençon, and the act of that present synod.

If now we inquire, Why all this caution and strictness was used by the French Churches? they themselves tell us, it was to keep unity and peace among them. 'That a strict conformity may be upheld among us,' says their last Synod of Loudun[36], 1659, 'all classes [colloquies] and provincial synods, when they receive proposants into the ministry, shall not use, with respect to these points, any particular forms; but oblige them only to sign and swear to our Confession of Faith and Church-Discipline, and protest with hands lifted up unto heaven, calling God to witness upon their souls, that they do reject all errors rejected by the decrees of those national Synods of Alençon and Charenton, about the doctrine of predestination and grace, &c.'

The Synod of Privas assigns the same reason for drawing up that solemn oath, which they call *The Oath of Union*, to be taken by all the deputies in the national synods; the tenor of which is as follows[37]: 'We, whose names are here subscribed

[35] Ch. 10. art. 6. (Q. v. 2. p. 455. A. v. 2. p. 664.) Et on ordonna, &c.

[36] Ch. 10. art. 25. (Q. ibid. p. 554. A. ibid. p. 779.) Et enfin, pour observer fort regulierement l'uniformité parmi nous, &c.

[37] Ch. 3. art. 1. (Q 3. ibid. p. 347. A. v. 1. p. 398.) Nous soussignés deputés des eglises reformées de France, assemblés en synode national, dans la ville de Privas en Vivarez, reconnoissant par l'experience du passé, qu'il n'y a rien de si necessaire pour entretenir la paix, et maintenir l'etablissement des dites eglises, qu'une sainte union et concorde inviolable, tant dans la doctrine que dans la discipline, et tout ce qui en depend, et que les dites eglises ne peuvent pas subsister long-tems sans une étroite et bonne confederation reciproque des unes avec les autres, mieux gardée et entretenûe qu'elle ne l'a été jusqu'à present; ..... nous avons, au nom de toutes nos eglises, ... juré et protesté, jurons, et protestons ...

[underwritten], ... knowing by past experience that nothing is more necessary to preserve the weal, peace, and good estate of the said churches, than an holy union and unviolable concord, beth in doctrine and discipline, and their dependencies; and that the said churches cannot long subsist without a good, intimate, and mutual conjunction one with another: ..... we have, in the name of all our churches, sworn and protested to remain inseparably united in that confession of faith of the reformed churches of this kingdom, read in this synod; swearing not only in our own name, but also in the respective names of all the churches of our provinces, that have deputed us unto this synod, that we will live and die in it. As also we protest, in our own and their names, to keep inviolably that ecclesiastical discipline established in the reformed churches of this kingdom[38].'

CHAP. IV.

Subscription more difficult in the Church of France than in the Church of England.

If it be said, notwithstanding all this, that subscription in the French Church is not so heavy a burden as it is in the Church of England: the trial of this will depend upon the examination and comparison of particulars, which I have collected and considered in the following books. At present I observe one thing, which in a great measure takes off at once the main force of this objection, and very much commends the moderation of the Church of England, that her first reformers and compilers of her Articles seem industriously to have avoided the determination of some points, and nicer explication of others, on purpose to make subscription easy, (in things that

de demeurer inseparablement unis dans la confession de foi des eglises reformées de ce roiaume, lûe devant cette compagnie, aprouvée et ratifiée de nous tous, qui avons juré tant en nôtre nom, qu'en celui des eglises des provinces, qui nous ont deputés à cette assemblée, de vouloir vivre et mourir dans la dite confession, protestant aussi aux mêmes noms de garder inviolablement la discipline ecclesiastique établie dans les eglises reformées de ce roiaume, &c.

[38] See also the same oath repeated in the Synod of Tonneins 1614, ch. 15. (Q. v. 1. p. 429. A. v. 2. p. 50.) Also Synod of Vitré 1617, ch. 2. art. 6. (Q. v. 1. p. 478. A. v. 2. p. 83. art. 83.) and Synod of Alez, 1620, ch. 3. (Q. v. 2. p. 4. A. v. 2. p. 142.) Acte du Serment d'Union signé par tous les deputés, &c.

do not so nearly touch upon the foundation,) to men of different apprehensions. If we compare the doctrines of the French and English Church upon this head, we shall find the advantage lies on the side of the English in this respect, that the French Church in her Articles and Canons requires subscription to several things which are not required to be subscribed in the Church of England. I will instance in two or three points, instead of many.

First, *the doctrine of justification* is explained with much greater nicety in the French Confession than it is in ours; and with such a nicety as has occasioned some dispute among learned men. For whereas the Eleventh Article of our Church says of justification [39], 'that we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings:' which contains the substance of the whole doctrine of justification, and which any orthodox Christian without any scruple may subscribe: the Eighteenth of the French Confession goes much further [40], and requires men to believe 'that the obedience of Jesus Christ is imputed to them;' which doctrine would not go down with Piscator [41] and some other German divines, who asserted 'that man's justification was only wrought out by Christ's death and passion, and not by his life and active obedience.' This occasioned a long dispute betwixt them. The Synod of Gap [42], 1603, expressed its detestation of their errors in particular who denied the imputation of Christ's active and passive obedience unto us for righteousness; and ordered 'all provincial synods, classes [43], and consistories to have a careful

[39] [Vid. Latine ap. Corp. Confess. (part. 1. p. 128.) Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, justi coram Deo reputamur.

[40] Vid. Corp. Confess. (part. 1. p. 104.) .... Omnique virtutum et meritorum opinione abjecta, in sola Jesu Christi obedientia prorsus acquiescimus, quæ quidem nobis imputatur, tum et tegantur omnia nostra peccata, tum etiam ut gratiam coram Deo nanciscamur.

[41] John Piscator, who was born at Strasburg in 1546, and in course of time became Professor of Theology at Herborn in 1584, was not remarkable for stedfastness in doctrine; for, having been originally a Lutheran, he afterwards joined the Calvinists, and towards the close of life adopted the tenets of Arminius. He died in 1626. Ed.]

[42] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. v. 1. p. 227.) And letters shall be writ unto Master Piscator, to intreat him not to trouble the churches with his newfangled opinions, &c.—See Aymon, ibid. (v. 1. p. 257., and see art. 3. p. 258.)

[43] [This term is replaced by the

eye on those persons who were tainted with that error, whether they were ministers or private Christians; and by the authority of the present synod to silence them; and in case any ministers persisted stubbornly in their error, to depose them from their ministerial function.' Letters also were sent to Piscator from the synod, to deal with him to retract his opinion: but instead of that, he sent his answer four years after to the next Synod of Rochelle, wherein he gave them his arguments and reasons for his doctrine. Hereupon they reinforced the decree of the Synod of Gap, ordering[44] 'all pastors in their respective churches wholly to conform themselves in their teaching to the doctrine which had been hitherto taught among them; to wit, that the whole obedience of Christ both in his life and death is imputed to us for the full remission of sins,' &c.

And that no doctrine contrary to this might be preached in their churches, the Synod of Privas[45], 1612, ordered all pastors in actual service, and all proposants who were to be received into the ministry, to sign this following article: 'I, whose name is here underwritten, do receive and approve the contents of the confession of faith of the reformed churches in this kingdom; and do promise to persevere in it until death, [and to believe and teach agreeably thereunto.] And whereas some persons contend about the sense of the Eighteenth Article, treating of our justification; I declare and protest before God, that I understand it in the same sense in which it is received in our churches, approved by our national synods, [agreeably to the Word of God;] which is, that our Lord Jesus Christ was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but also in our stead; and that his whole obedience, yielded by him thereunto, is imputed to us; and that our justification consists not only in the forgiveness of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness.....I do also promise that I will never depart from the doctrine received in our churches; and that I will yield all obedience to the canons of our national synods in this matter,' &c.

word *colloquies* in Quick: but as the learned Author seems to prefer it, I shall not correct or notice it whenever it again occurs. ED.]

[44] Syn. Rochelle, 1607, ch. 2. art. 4. (Q. v. I. p. 265. A. ibid. p. 301.)

[45] Ch. 4. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 348. A. ibid. p. 399.)

By this time the rumour of this controversy was spread abroad in all Protestant countries, and the fame of it here in England coming to the ears of King James, he took upon him to be mediator betwixt the French and German Churches; sending his letters by Mr. Hume to the next national synod of France, held at Tonneins, 1614, the tenor of which was thus[46]. 'Sirs,—Having received intelligence that your Assembly would be held in Gascony the 1st of May, in which some persons may be engaged to revive that controversy about justification, and to urge the consciences of others to assent against their own judgment unto matters not sufficiently understood by them, we thought good to send you Monsieur Hume, one of our subjects, and of your pastors, with this our letter; to exhort you in our name not to suffer the spirits of your pastors and professors to be embittered one against another about distinctions more subtle than profitable, more curious than needful, &c..... lest the sparkles of dissension inflame you into such a schism as will consume you all,' &c.

Together with this letter he gave Mr. Hume in charge, by word of mouth, to advise the assembly as from him, 'to procure a firm union in points of doctrine among the pastors, professors, and other members of their own Church; without quarrelling with the divines of Germany, or any persons teaching otherwise; who handled the point of justification in a different manner from them.' Which message, together with the king's letter, Mr. Hume[47] delivered accordingly; as is related in the Acts of the Synod[48].

And thus far the king's mediation seems to have had its effect, that we find no further disputes between them and the German divines: but as to the members of their own Church, they took the same measures they had done before; enjoining 'all persons chosen into the ministry to promise before God not to teach the doctrine of justification any otherwise than they there explained it; and charging all consistories, classes, and provincial synods to exert their whole authority to see this canon punctually observed; inspecting their ministers,

[46] See ch. 19, according to Quick. (v. 1. p. 437.)

[47] Ch. 3. art. 5. (Q. v. 1. p. 395. A. v. 2. p. 6.)

[48] See Syn. Tonn. ch. 6. art. 19. (Q. ibid. p. 401. A. art. 20. ibid. p. 13.)

and all other persons, that none act contrary hereunto; and to prosecute such as do with all the censures of the Church.'

The question now, upon the full relation of this controversy, that I would ask any man, without entering into the merits of the cause betwixt Piscator and the French, is only this,—Whether the Article of the Church of England about justification be not less liable to exception than that of the French Confession; and may not more easily and generally be subscribed by all Protestants, since it contains nothing but what they are all agreed in? He must be very partial to a cause that will have the confidence to deny this.

Another instance in which it will evidently appear that subscription in the French Church was for some time at least more difficult than in the Church of England, is *the doctrine of original sin*, which has been variously explained in the French Church. At first, indeed, it was exactly the same with the Ninth Article of the Church of England; which says, 'Original sin is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth against the spirit.' And the tenth and eleventh Articles of the French Confession say no more than this: for no notice is taken of the imputation of Adam's sin at all. But afterwards the French Church brought this also into the notion of original sin: for when Mr. de la Place had published a Discourse of Original Sin[49], wherein he asserted, 'that the nature of it consisted only in that corruption which is hereditary to all Adam's posterity, and inherent originally in all men, and not in the imputation of his first sin;' the third Synod of Charenton[50], 1644, 'condemned his doctrine for restraining the nature of original sin to the sole hereditary corruption of Adam's posterity, to the excluding of the imputation of that first sin by which he fell; and interdicted, upon pain of church-censures,

[49] [Joshua De La Place, *Placæus*, was Pastor at Nantes in 1625, and Professor of Divinity at Saumur in 1633. The work alluded to may be found in the book entitled *Disputationes Academicæ, de Imputatione primi peccati Adami, de Argumentis quibus efficitur Christum prius fuisse, quam in utero B. V. conciperetur, et de Testimoniis et Argumentis, quibus probatur Jesum Christum esse Deum.* Salmurii, 1649–51. 3 vol. 4to. ED.]

[50] Ch. 14. art. 10. (Q. v. 2. p. 473. A. ch. 14. art. 1. v. 2. p. 680.)

all pastors, professors, and others who should treat of this question, to depart from the common received opinion of the Protestant Churches. Also all synods and classes, who should hereafter proceed to the reception of scholars into the ministry, were obliged to see them sign and subscribe that present act of the Synod of Charenton.'

Now that this determination was thought a little too severe, we need no other proof than the subsequent decree that was made in the Synod of Loudun fifteen years after, 1659. For there it is said[51], 'that at the request of divers provinces, demanding with great importunity that the canon of Charenton might be moderated; it was decreed, that for the future all pastors and proposants who should offer themselves to the ministry, should only be obliged to subscribe the tenth and eleventh articles of the Confession of Faith. Yet still all persons should be forbidden to preach or print any thing against the imputation mentioned in the canon of Charenton.'

A third instance to this purpose is their doctrine concerning *the call of their first reformers*, which every one is to believe not to have been any ordinary call from man or the Church, but an extraordinary commission by an inward powerful impulse from God. For so the Synod of Gap, 1603, expressly words it[52]: 'This synod doth judge that we ought according to the one and thirtieth article of our Confession, to ascribe their authority for preaching and reforming simply to their extraordinary vocation, whereby they were by an inward powerful impulse from God, raised up and commanded to exercise their ministry, and not to the relics of their corrupted call and ordination in the Romish Church[53].'

The following Synod of Rochelle, 1607, made some corrections upon this: 'In that Article of the same synod [Gap],' say they[54], 'which speaks of the call of the first pastors in our reformed churches these words, *and to teach*[55],

[51] Ch. 8. art. 11. (ibid. p. 532. A. ibid. p. 750.)

[52] Ch. 2. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 227. A. ch. 2. art. 7. v. 1. p. 259.)

[53] [Let me notice here once for all that the learned Author does not invariably cite these canons of the reformed French Church word for word according to Quick's translation: sometimes he abridges the paragraphs or slightly changes the phraseology, but he never departs from the sense. Ed.]

[54] Ch. 4. art. 3. (Q. v. 1. p. 269. A. v. 1. p. 307.)

[55] These words, *and to teach*, are

which are found in some certain copies, shall be razed; and instead of *simply*, shall be inserted *principally;* and that last clause, *Not unto the small remainders of their corrupted call,* shall be read thus, *Rather than unto the small remainders of their ordinary call.*' Yet these corrections do not so clear all doubts, but that many men would find themselves under great difficulties to subscribe their doctrine in this particular also.

To these instances in points of *belief* I will subjoin a few more which relate to *practice,* and which make subscription in the French Church rather more difficult than the former. It is one article of their Book of Discipline [56], 'That all dancing shall be suppressed, and such as make a trade of dancing, or use to be [make custom of being] present at dances, having been sundry times admonished, in case they prove contumacious or rebellious, shall be excommunicated; and all consistories are charged to see that this canon be most heedfully kept and observed.' It is here to be noted that all ministers are sworn to the execution of this discipline; and consequently under an oath to excommunicate all persons who use to frequent dances without reforming. What particular reasons they might have in France for this severity I know not; but certainly it would be esteemed a very rigorous canon among us; first to prohibit all dancing as a thing unlawful, and then oblige ministers by an oath to excommunicate all that used and practised it.

They have other canons no less severe with respect to *habits;* and ministers are equally bound upon oath to put them in execution. The Synod of Rochelle, 1581, declares [57], 'That such habits are not to be allowed in common wearing, as carry with them evident marks of lasciviousness, dissolution, and excessive new-fangled fashions, such as painting, slashing, cutting in pieces, trimming with locks and tassels, or any other that may discover nakedness, or naked breasts; or fardingals, or the like sort of garments, with which men and women do

in sense the same with *preaching* in the Synod of Gap.

[56] Ch. 14. art. 27. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 57.)

[57] Ch. 4. art. 21. [ch. 3. art. 41.] (Q. v. 1. p. 139. A. ch. 2. art. 40. v. 1. p. 152.)

wickedly clothe and adorn themselves. And consistories shall do their utmost [endeavour] to suppress such dissolutions by their censures; and in case the delinquents are contumacious and rebellious, they shall proceed against them, even to excommunication.'

See also the Book of Discipline, ch. 14. art. 26; Synod of St. Foi, 1578, ch. 4, art. 21; Synod of Montauban, 1594, ch. 4. art. 45; Synod of Gergeau, 1601, ch. 3. art. 45; all to the same purpose; save only that in the Synod of Gergeau poinçons and fardingals are excepted out of the number of habits [58] for the use of which persons were to be punished with excommunication.

By another of their canons in the Book of Discipline [59], 'No mummings and jugglings are to be suffered, nor wassail-days, nor keeping of Shrovetide, nor players at heypass, nor tumblers, nor tricks of goblets, nor puppet-plays.....Moreover it shall not be lawful for the faithful to go to comedies, tragedies, interludes, farces, or other stage-plays, acted in public or private.' Some editions of the Discipline also forbad the setting up of May-poles; but this was ordered to be razed out of the canon by the Synod of Gergeau [60], 1601.

Cards also, and dice, and other games of hazard, and lotteries, are prohibited under pain of ecclesiastical censure. See the Book of Discipline [61] and the Synod of Gergeau [62], 1601.

All ministers are prohibited the study of chemistry, by a canon of the Synod of St. Maixant [63], 1609: 'Classes and synods shall have a watchful eye over those ministers who study chemistry [64], and grievously reprove and censure them.'

And they are under oath not to practise physic, except out

[58] Quick, ibid. (p. 213.) See Aymon, Revision, art. 40. (ibid. p. 240.) Dans l'article 26. on ôtera ces mots, *poinçons, houppes,* et *vertugadins.*

[59] Ch. 14. art. 28. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 57.)

[60] Ch. 3. art. 46. See Quick, ibid. (v. 1. p. 213.) Aymon, ibid. art. 41. (ibid. p. 240.) Dans l'article 28. on raiera ces mots, *ou de planter des Mays.*

[61] Ch. 14. art. 29. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 57.)

[62] Ch. 3. art. 47. (Q. v. 1. p. 213. A. art. 42. ibid. p. 240.)

[63] Ch. 3. art. 6. (Q. ibid. p. 314. A. ibid. p. 359.)

[64] [Not, surely, the legitimate science of chemistry properly so called, but rather what we now term *alchymy*, or vain and curious arts in attempting to turn other metals into gold. Ed.]

of charity to the neighbourhood, which if they transgress they are liable also to suspension [65].

Now I cannot but think that some of these things at least are as hard to be subscribed and sworn to as any of the canons of the Church of England; for we have no such canons as oblige us to excommunicate every person that frequents dancing, or wears a fardingal, &c.

CHAP. V.

The French discipline allows not of nonconforming ministers, or separate meetings.

If we inquire in the next place, what regard the French Church had to such ministers as had any scruples upon them as to swearing and subscribing, and such as could not conform; though it was the peculiar happiness of that Church to have as few instances of that kind as ever any Church had; yet when there were any, they were either debarred from entering into the ministry at first, or else silenced and deposed if they were in actual service: for their national synods never suffered their authority to be contemned. It is a canon of their Book of Discipline [66], 'That if a pastor or elder break the Church's union, or stir up contention about any point of doctrine or discipline which he had subscribed, or about the form of catechizing, or administration of sacraments, and celebration of marriage, and conform not to the determination of the classis, he shall then be suspended from his office, and be further prosecuted by the provincial or national synod.'

The Synod of Montauban [67], 1594, allows not ministers 'to make any alteration in the forms of public prayers and administration of the sacraments, the whole having been prudently and piously ordained, and for the most part in plain and express terms of Holy Scripture.'

The same Synod has a severe canon against all ministers

[65] See Book of Discipline, ch. 1. art. 19. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 20.) —Synod of St. Foi, 1578, ch. 4. art. 22. (Q. v. 1. p. 119. A. v. 1. p. 129. Synod of Loudun, 1659, ch. 9. art. 9. (Q. v. 2. p. 534. A. v. 2. p. 753.)

[66] Ch. 5. art. 32. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 36.)

[67] Ch. 4. art. 19. (Q. v. 1. p. 163. A. ibid. art. 20. v. 1. p. 181.)

that officiate in interdicted churches[68]: 'If any [particular church or] churches refuse payment of their contributions towards the defraying those expenses, which are unavoidably contracted by journeys and attendance in synodical and other ecclesiastical assemblies kept and held for the common good of all churches, they shall be deprived of the ministry of the Gospel, and be reputed deserters of that holy union which ought to be preserved among us.'—And, *N.B.*, 'all ministers in such churches are interdicted the exercise of their ministry upon pain of being denounced schismatics.' And this they order to be entered among the canons of their discipline, which all ministers are sworn to observe.

Here we see what authority they claim to themselves; first, in laying contributions upon the churches upon necessary occasions; secondly, in interdicting the churches which refuse payment; thirdly, in depriving the ministers, and treating them as schismatics, if they pretend to officiate in any of those interdicted churches. And yet this was but a pecuniary matter at most, which affords ground for so much censure.

Their Book of Discipline[69] lays down several rules for managing disputes with the Papists about religion; and particularly this, which it backs with a most severe sanction: 'Ministers shall not adventure upon any general conference without the advice of all the churches assembled in a national synod; upon pain of being declared apostates and deserters of the churches' union[70].'

The synod of Gap[71], 1603, proceeds in like manner with persons tainted with the prevailing errors, as it calls them, about justification: 'Be they ministers or private Christians, by the authority of this present synod they shall be silenced; and in case of a stubborn persistency, if ministers, be deposed.'

It is a known instance, which Dr. Durel has heretofore given of this Church's power, in the case of Mr. Welsh, a Scotchman, and minister in the province of Xaintonge; who, being commanded by the Synod of St. Maixant to conform himself, both

[68] Ch. 3. art. 10. (Q. v. 1. p. 159. A. v. 1. p. 177.)

[69] Ch. 6. art. 4. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 36.)

[70] See also the Synod of Gergeau, 1601, ch. 3. art. 23. (Q. v. 1. p. 211. A. ibid. art. 21. v. 1. p. 237.)

[71] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 227. A. ibid. p. 25.) See also, ibid. ch. 3. art. 4 and 5. (A. ibid. p. 260.)

in his preaching and the exercise of discipline, to the order and manner used in the Church of France, upon his refusal, was obliged to leave his ministry and quit the kingdom [72].

To this let me add that famous decree of the Synod of Alez [73], 1620, where, upon advice craved by some of the deputies what course should be taken with those who took out prohibitions from the court of parliament against the orders and censures of the Church, the assembly enjoined all synods, classes, and consistories, to proceed against such persons, as rebels against the discipline of the Church: and inflict upon them the heaviest censure of excommunication. We find at the end of almost every national synod, a roll of deposed ministers and deserters; and yet we never hear of any of these setting up to preach in separate Protestant meetings. It was against their rules there to preach, when silenced by the authority of a national synod, where lay the last appeal: and, therefore, in all their synods we scarce meet with three instances to the contrary. The Synod of St. Maixant made a peremptory canon [74]; 'If any deposed minister shall presume to celebrate any public ordinances, he shall be pronounced excommunicate immediately.' They would not allow such an one the lowest privilege of a private Christian, so much as to esteem him a member of the Church.

They enacted other proper laws for the people; that they should not hear, or follow, or encourage any such, under pain of censure also. 'Forasmuch,' says the Book of Discipline [75], 'as that it is neither lawful nor expedient to hear the Popish preachers, nor any others who have intruded themselves without a lawful call; the flocks shall be hindered by their pastors from going to them; and such as shall go shall be called into the consistory, and censured according to the nature of their offence.'

Now two things are to be observed in this canon. First,

[72] See the Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, ch. 5. art. 35. (Q. v. 1. p. 324. A. art. 34. v. 1. p. 371.) — Also Durel's Vindiciæ, cap. 22. (pp. 242, 243.) Quod cum efficere, ut et alias novas Scotorum consuetudines Gallis reformatis incognitas in illam ecclesiam introducere, non valuisset, ... deseruit ecclesiam Welchius, *et factus est*, ut Apologiæ verbis utar, *ejectus in Gallia minister*.

[73] Ch. 10. art. 22. (Q. v. 2. p. 37. A. art. 23. v. 2. p. 182.)

[74] Ch. 6. art. 17. (Ibid. v. 1. p. 328. A. v. 1. p. 376.)

[75] Ch. 14. art. 12. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 55.)

that it is no more lawful to go to hear preachers who intrude themselves without a lawful call, than it is to go and hear Popish preachers. Secondly, that all persons are intruders and have no lawful call, who take upon themselves the office of preaching contrary to the known rules and orders of the Established Church; or else preach after they have been silenced, suspended, or deposed by lawful authority. So that if our controversies in England were to be determined by this canon of the French Church, separation would quickly be at an end, if men would but be once persuaded to believe it unlawful to preach, or hear others preach, without a lawful call, and contrary to the rules and orders of the Established Church.

That this was the constant sense of the French Church appears from another canon made in the Synod of Gergeau, 1601, in reference to the people of Montauban; where it is decreed[76], 'That because they suffered and encouraged one Girard, a minister that had been suspended by the Synod of Languedoc, to preach among them after his suspension, they should thereby incur censures themselves.'

The Synod of Alez also made a very good canon to prevent disorders of this nature[77]: 'That whereas it might happen, through the corruption of the age, that a minister deposed in one classis or province might intrude himself into another, and take upon him to preach the word, before the meeting of the national synod, by which all the churches of this kingdom may be advised of the said deposed person; this assembly doth exhort all pastors and consistories not easily to admit any stranger from another province into the pulpits, unless they be very well acquainted with him. And as for apostates, the pastors of the adjoining churches, in which the revolted live, shall give speedy and public notice of these apostates; that so none of our churches or ministers may be surprised by them.'

We see all possible care was taken to prevent the preaching and hearing of silenced and deposed ministers, both in separate meetings and their own churches. And this good piece of discipline was always observed in the French Churches,

[76] Ch. 4. art. 22. (Q. v. 1. p. 216. A. art. 23. v. 1. p. 243.)

[77] Ch. 5. art. 9. (Q. v. 2. p. 7. A. v. 2. p. 148.)

being instilled into them by Beza, and their first reformers. For the judgment of Beza against preaching, when silenced by authority, was peremptory, and famous, not only in the Church of France, but England also. For being consulted upon this very point by some dissenting brethren in England, about the year 1568, when subscription was pressed by the Queen's authority, he gave them this answer. 'As to the silenced ministers,' says he[78], 'if the pressing of subscription continues, my advice is, rather to live privately than to yield to it. For either they must act against their consciences, or else quit their employments. For as for the third thing which might be supposed in this case, that is, the exercising their functions against the will of the Queen and the Bishops; we tremble at the thoughts of it, for such reasons as may easily be imagined, though I never say a word about them.'

This answer and resolution of Beza, to give it its just praise, seems to have done good service in England in stopping the intended separation at that time: and probably might leave those useful impressions upon the minds of our old nonconformists, which we find the sober part of them were possessed with; that if they were silenced for not subscribing, they ought to submit and live as private Christians in the communion of the Church, and not set up separate meetings, and preach against the will of their superiors. Which was the known judgment of Mr. Fox, Dr. Humphreys, Perkins, Gifford, Rathband, Ball, Bradshaw, Hildersham, and Dod; whose authorities have often been produced by others, and it is beside my present purpose here to repeat; who am only concerned to show what was the judgment and practice of the French Church.

I will end this chapter with the twenty-sixth article of the French Confession of Faith[79]: 'We believe that it is not lawful for any man to withdraw himself from the congregations of God's saints, and to content himself with private devotions; but all of us are jointly bound to keep and maintain the unity of the Church, &c. And whosoever do separate themselves from

[78] Ep. 12. ad Fratr. Anglic. (p. 105.) ... Si hæc libertas [ministerio suo defungendi] eis eripiatur ..... quid aliud suadeamus, quam ut privati esse malint, quam contra conscientiam fovere malum? .... Tertium enim illud, nempe ut contra regiæ majestatis et episcoporum voluntatem, &c.

[79] See in Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 12.)

this order, do resist the ordinance of God [80]. And in case they draw others aside with them, they do act very perversely, and are to be accounted as mortal plagues.'

Mr. Quick himself observes [81], that discipline was always strictly exercised upon delinquent ministers in the worst of times: they were deposed and ejected, if they deserved it: but yet he cannot say any of these set up separate Protestant meetings; but they generally turned Papists, and took up for good and all in the Romish synagogue. So effectual was their discipline in silencing delinquent ministers, and yet happy in keeping all that called themselves Protestants, to one church and one communion.

CHAP. VI.

That the French Church condemns occasional conformity, as much as the Church of England.

THE last expedient of the Church of England to preserve unity was the censuring of separatists, and denying them the privilege of occasional communion. I speak not now of the late bills about occasional conformity, which have been the subject of a warm debate among those who are professed members of the Church: for these not being yet enacted into laws, and being rather civil than ecclesiastical acts, come not within the compass of this discourse: but I speak of such laws as are actually in being, which all the members of the Church must acknowledge to be laws; I mean the canons which are in force, and may legally and with good authority be put in execution. The twenty-seventh of these canons speaks to this effect: 'No minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any that refuse to be present at public prayers, according to the orders of the Church of England; nor to any that are common and notorious depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and of the orders, rites, and ceremonies therein prescribed, or of any thing that is contained in any of the Articles agreed

[80] Note, that this last clause is in Mr. Quick's translation, though it be not in some other editions. [See Confess. Gallic. art. 26. ap. Corp. Confess. (p. 107.) where the clause also is exstant;—*a quo ordine quicunque seipsos sejungunt, ordinationi Dei resistunt.* Ps. 5. et 42. Eph. 4, 11. Hebr. 10, 25. Act. 4, 19; et 5, 29. ED.]

[81] Introduction to the Synodicon, sect. 13. (v. 1. p. 58.)

upon in the Convocation, 1562, or of any thing contained in the Book of Ordering Priests and Bishops; or to any that have spoken against and depraved his Majesty's sovereign authority in causes ecclesiastical; except every such person shall first acknowledge to the minister, before the churchwardens, his repentance for the same, and promise by word, if he cannot write, that he will do so no more; and except, if he can write, he shall first do the same under his handwriting, &c.'

The title of the canon is, 'That schismatics are not to be admitted to the communion,' and it is agreed on all hands, both by Churchmen and Dissenters, that the design of the canon was to deny separatists the privilege of occasional communion. For every minister, so far as he is obliged by this canon, is under an obligation not to admit them to communion, but upon the conditions specified in the canon.

Now the question is concerning the legality and justice of this canon. Dissenters say, it is simply and universally unlawful, and give it as one reason, among others, for their nonconformity[82].

To which I say, that the same reason will hold for nonconformity in the Church of France: for their rules require ministers to use the very same discipline. Beza, in his Epistle to the French Church in London, passing his judgment upon certain articles drawn up by them, approves this among the rest[83]: 'They that are either lawfully excommunicate, or do unlawfully and with scandal withdraw themselves from any church, ought not to be allowed the use of the sacraments, till they have made legal satisfaction to the Church.'

The 13th article in the same Epistle says further[84], 'that whoever is lawfully excommunicate in any particular church, or unlawfully cuts himself off from it, does thereby exclude

[82] See Mr. Baxter's English Nonconformity, ch. 29. point. 26. (p. 117.)

[83] Ep. 24. ad Peregrin. in Anglic. Eccles. Fratres. art. 21. (p. 164.) Qui legitime excommunicati sunt, aut qui illegitime ac cum offensione ab aliqua ecclesia desciverunt, ... ad nulla publica ecclesiæ ministeria obeunda, aut sacramentorum usum in ulla ecclesia admitti possunt, ... donec ecclesiæ legitime satisfecerint.

[84] Ibid. (p. 160.) ... Quicunque ab eadem particulari ecclesia ob suam malitiam legitime excommunicatur, aut seipsum ob ullas causas illegitime aut cum data offensione exscindit, eo ipso omnibus catholicæ Dei ecclesiæ privilegiis excidit, nec hanc ob causam in ullam usquam aliam particularem ecclesiam ulla ratione admitti poterit, &c.

himself from all the privileges of the Catholic Church, and is not to be received into any other particular church without making satisfaction, &c.'

Now I presume a legal satisfaction will at least imply an acknowledgment of the fault, and a promise of amendment for the future. And if so; if the same conditions be required of separatists in the French Church, before they are to be admitted to the communion, wherein does their discipline differ from that of the Church of England?

Calvin says in general[85], 'Of all such as fall off from the Church, either through rigour of discipline, or scandal of the cross, if they make an open separation from the Church, they are by no means to be admitted to the holy supper.'

If it be said, these are only private authorities; I answer, they are such as are agreeable to the canons in the Book of Discipline; one of which says[86], 'Such as care not to come to our public Christian congregations, but only upon those days when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is celebrated, shall be reproved, and admonished of their duty; *and to this purpose they shall join themselves to one certain particular church.*'

And the next canon says[87], 'They [the faithful] who make a trade of hearing the word of God in one church, and of receiving the sacraments in another, shall be censured; and *by the advice of the classis or provincial synod* they shall be appointed to join themselves to that church which is nearest and most convenient for them.'

These canons not only prohibit occasional communion to such as absent themselves from the service of the Church, but also to such as frequent not their own parochial churches. Which justifies another canon of our Church, which Mr. Baxter also excepts against; that is, the twenty-eighth, which says, 'Ministers shall not admit strangers to the Lord's table among others, but forbid them, and remit such home to their own parish churches and ministers, there to receive the communion

[85] Ep. ad Mens. Poppium, &c. (Oper. t. 9. p. 205.) Sin palam discessionem ab ecclesia faciunt, ac eos Evangelii pudet vel tædet, nullo modo admittendi sunt ad sacram cœnam.

[86] Ch. 12. art. 12. (Q. Introduct. v. 1. p. 48.) [Quick notes hereon that the last clause (the Italics are his) was only in his Edition of Paris and Rouen, 1663. Ed.]

[87] Ibid. art. 13. (Q. ibid. p. 48.)

with the rest of their neighbours.' I can see no difference between this canon and that last mentioned of the French discipline: and yet Mr. Baxter[88] makes this point also a sufficient reason for ministers' nonconformity.

He says[89], 'Parish-bounds are but an human order for conveniency.' As if parish-bounds in France were not the same thing that they are in England! 'But the benefit of an able faithful minister, and the choice and use of such where they may be had, is of divine appointment.' Then at least the French Church sins as much as the Church of England, in remanding every one back to his own parish, against a divine appointment. 'But some parishes have ministers that cannot, or may not, be suffered to preach.' And I shall show in due time that this was the case of the Church of France too; which defect they supplied by ordering Calvin's Homilies[90] to be read: and yet they did not think this a sufficient reason to allow men to go for communion from their own parish-churches. But he says, 'Every Christian is related to all the Catholic Church, and as he hath need hath right to the communion of saints out of his parish.' There is no question but that both the French and English Church knew this as well as Mr. Baxter. But what is this to those that have no need to go out of their parish for communion? Is there no difference between ordinary and extraordinary cases? Then all ordinary rules may be broken because they do not bind in extraordinary cases. If men have occasion to travel to other parishes or countries, it is fitting they should be allowed to communicate in those places whither necessity calls them: but it does not hence follow that it is unlawful to bind men by a canon to communicate in their own parish-churches, who have no necessity to do otherwise. And yet thus Mr. Baxter argues, both against the French and English Churches; though he designed it only against the Church of England.

I observe two things further in the practice and discipline of the French Church, relating to this matter. First, that no stranger can be admitted to communion in any church without testimonials from his own church; which was an old rule of the

[88] English Nonconformity, ch. 30. point 27. (p. 117.)

[89] Ibid. (p. 117.)

[90] See afterwards, b. 2. ch. 2. and b. 4. ch. 10.

Primitive Church, revived by the second Synod of Paris, 1565, which says[91], 'Ministers ..... are advised not to receive the members of any other churches to the Lord's supper, without a sufficient attestation produced by them, under the hands of their pastors or elders, if it may be had.' And Beza[92] says they observe a like rule at Geneva, unless either the persons be otherwise sufficiently known, or will submit to a private examination.

The other thing I observe in their constitution is something more remarkable, being an instance of power that the Church of England could never yet lay claim to; which was, that no Protestant could enjoy any such civil offices among them as were particularly specified by the Edict of Nantes, unless he was recommended by the public testimonials of the Church. For so the Synod of Tonneins, 1614, decreed, with a menace of excommunication to them that should do otherwise[93]: 'This assembly ordained, that such persons who get themselves preferred to the government of our cautionary towns, or unto the office of counsellors in the mixed courts, or shall obtain any other places granted to gentlemen professing our religion, without taking the necessary testimonials, according to the letter and import of the king's writ for governors, and the particular articles for counsellors in sovereign courts; they shall be declared deserters of the union of our churches, and prosecuted with all church-censures.'

The ground of this canon was the forty-ninth Article of those which are called *The Secret Articles of the Edict of Nantes*, which says[94], 'The vacant offices, of which those of the said religion are or shall be provided in the chambers of the edict, shall be supplied with persons capable; who shall bring a certificate from the synod or classis unto which they do belong, that they are of the said religion, and honest men.'

This is a plain evidence that to qualify men for those civil offices the testimonials of the Church were required; and it is

[91] Ch. 11. art. 26. (Q. v. 1. p. 66. A. art. 3. v. 1. p. 69.)

[92] Ep. 20. (p. 140.) Monentur quoque peregrini ut ejus, in qua censentur, ecclesiæ testimonium ad pastorem afferant, nisi forte sint satis aliunde noti, vel fidei suæ et ipsi privatim apud pastorem rationem reddant.

[93] Ch. 8. art. 11. (Q. v. 1. p. 411. A. v. 2. p. 25.)

[94] See in Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 93.)

not to be supposed that they would give their testimonials to any that were not of their Church, or made a separation from it. Whence it appears that they not only prohibited occasional communion, but had power to deny those that were not of their communion the privilege of civil offices; which none could regularly obtain without testimonials from the Church: which is something more than is now exacted in the Church of England.

If it be said, notwithstanding all this, that men had not the same reasons for scrupling conformity in the French Church, or separating from it, that they have in the Church of England: though I have already taken off the main force of this plea in the fourth chapter of this Book; by showing that subscription is rather more difficult in many cases in the French Church than it is in the Church of England; yet, to answer it more fully, I will proceed to examine the several particular objections that are made against our Church, relating either, first, to her Articles and Homilies; or secondly, to her Liturgy; or thirdly, to her Ordinations, Government, and Canons; and show that all such objections may be answered, and the things excepted against be fairly justified, upon the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France.

I will begin with the objections made against the Articles and Homilies; which shall be the subject of the next Book.

BOOK II.

THE OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE ARTICLES AND HOMILIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONSIDERED, AND ANSWERED UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

That approved writers of the French Church allow the Articles of the Church of England as lawful to be subscribed.

WHAT is meant by *subscription* to the Articles of our Church is not exactly agreed by those that subscribe them. Some take them only for articles of peace; and they by *subscription* mean no more than this, that they will so far own and submit to them as not publicly to dissent from them, or teach any doctrine that is contrary to any thing contained in them. This seems to have been the judgment of Archbishop Bramhall [1], Bishop Fowler [2], and others. But generally *subscription* is considered in a stricter sense; as implying a declaration of our own opinion, and not as a bare obligation to silence only: and this seems rather to have been the intent and meaning of the Church. But now in this stricter sense Beza professes in his Letters to Bishop Grindal, that he knows no orthodox Frenchman but who could as heartily subscribe the English Confession as their own. 'For,' says he in one place [3], 'we believe your churches do in all points of doctrine

[1] [See Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, ch. 6. s. 4. (Works, v. 2. p. 201.) We do not hold our Thirty-nine Articles to be such necessary truths, without which there is no salvation, nor enjoin ecclesiastical persons to swear to them, but only to subscribe them, as theological truths, for the preservation of unity among us and the extirpation of some growing errors.—See also ch. 9. s. 2. (ibid. p. 261.) We do use to subscribe, &c.

[2] See Principles and Practices of Certain Moderate Divines, &c. Lond. 1671. (part 2. p. 305.) .... Nor do they, as hath been shewn, require our internal assent to their Articles, but enjoin our submission to them as to an instrument of peace only. ED.]

[3] Ep. 8. (p. 74.). . Adversus Galli-

agree with ours.' And in another [4], 'As to what concerns your faith or doctrine, received by public consent and confirmed by royal authority, I suppose there is no man that thinks rightly of these matters but will embrace it as true and certain.'

Peter Du Moulin [5] speaks much to the same purpose in his defence of the French Confession against Arnoux the Jesuit. 'Our adversaries,' says he, 'under pretence that the Church of England hath another form of discipline than ours is, charge us that our religion is diverse: but experience confuteth this accusation; for we assemble with the English in their churches; we participate together in the holy supper of our Lord; the doctrine of their confession is wholly agreeable unto ours.'

Mr. Le Moyne [6] says, 'the English Confession has been highly approved by all the Protestant world;' and 'that it really deserves the praises of all good Christians: for there cannot be any thing made more wise than that Confession, and the Articles of faith were never collected with a more just and reasonable discretion.'

CHAP. II.

Of particular exceptions against the Thirty-nine Articles, and consent of the French Church in the controverted Articles, Third, Fourth, Eighth, and the rest to the Twentieth.

Mr. Baxter in his English Nonconformity [7], professes he can subscribe all the doctrinal Articles as true; but he says, 'the

cas et vestras quoque ecclesias, quas omnes nobiscum in omnibus doctrinæ capitibus consentire arbitramur.

[4] Ep. 69. (p. 320.) Itaque quod ad fidem ipsam sive doctrinam, istic publico consensu receptam regiaque auctoritate confirmatam, attinet, nullum esse arbitror eorum, qui satis recte de his rebus sentiunt, qui non eam ut veram ac certam amplectatur.

[5] Buckler of Faith, Art. 30. (p. 345.) I know that under pretence, &c.

[6] Le Moyne's Letter to the Bishop of London, at the end of Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation. (p. 396.) Pour ceux qui n'ont aucune liaison avec Rome, c'est une chose bien singulière de les voir passer jusqu'à cette extrémité, que de croire que dans l'Eglise Anglicane on ne peût faire son salut. C'est n'avoir guère de connoissance de la Confession de foy, que tout le monde Protestant a si hautement approuvée, et qui mérite en effet les louanges de tout ce qu'il y a de bons Chrétiens. Car on ne pouvoit rien faire de plus sage, que cette Confession, et jamais les Articles de foy n'ont été recueillés avec un discernement plus juste et plus raisonnable que dans cette excellente pièce.

[7] Ch. 24. point 21. (p. 109.)

words of them in the obvious sense are many times liable to exception; and there are many things in the Articles that good men may scruple.' His first instance is the Third Article. He says, 'Learned men doubt of Christ's going down into hell.' Then surely they must doubt of the Apostles' Creed too? for it is an article of that as well as of the English Confession. But I suppose he would have said that some doubt of the exposition of that doctrine of Christ's descent into hell. Yet this will not mend the matter: for the Church gives no exposition of it in that Article; but only says, 'It is to be believed that he went down into hell.' Now who those good men are that doubt of this, and allow at the same time of the Apostles' Creed, one would be glad to know, for their rare faculty of distinguishing without a difference: or if they doubt of the Apostles' Creed as well as the Article of the Church of England, the question will then be whether they are good men? The French Church says nothing in particular of this Article in her Confession; but yet she allows the Article, because she owns every article of the Apostles' Creed; whereof this is one. So that here is no difference between the two Churches upon this point: they both own the Article in terms; and our Church gives no exposition of it, but leaves men to a reasonable latitude with sobriety to put their own sense and meaning on it. So much was Mr. Baxter mistaken when he said, 'that learned and good men doubt of Christ's going down into hell!' This is ominous to make such a blunder in his first exception; let us see whether he was more lucky in his second.

2. He says next[8], that the doctrine of the Fourth Article, *that Christ's body in heaven hath flesh and bones,* is contrary to two general Councils; the second of Nice, and that of Constantinople before it[9]. What follows hence? That good men may scruple this Article? Then by the same reason they may

[8] Ibid. (p. 109.)

[9] The ancient Councils and Fathers generally maintain the doctrine of the Fourth Article, 'That the body of Christ hath flesh and bones in heaven.' Pope Damasus, in his Confession of Faith, recorded by Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 11., uses the following expressions: *If any one shall affirm that Christ sits not in the flesh, which he assumed, at the right hand of God, in which also he shall come to judge the quick and dead, let him be anathema.* [Græce: (Valesius, p. 215 a. Reading, p. 210. 30.) Εἴ τις μὴ εἴπῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ, ἣν περ ἀνέλαβε, καθέζεται ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐλεύσεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Ed.]

scruple the Twenty-eighth Article which denies transubstantiation; for the contrary doctrine was established at least in two such general Councils, Lateran and Trent. We see any argument will serve against the Church's Articles, though it open a door for Popery, under pretence of easing scrupulous men. But it is well the French Confession may be scrupled by his good men upon the same ground. For the Fifteenth Article of their Confession [10] proves the truth and propriety of our Saviour's human nature after his assumption into heaven, from that text of St. Luke 24, 39, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." It is the same thing with them, not to have flesh and bones, as not to have a true human nature. So that if we deny that Christ hath flesh and bones in heaven, we might as well deny the truth of his humanity also. But the French Church never thought fit to condescend so far to these scrupulous men, as in compliment to them to drop the article which asserts the truth of our Saviour's human nature.

3. He says [11], the Eighth Article 'is scrupled by many conformists, because it requires the damnatory clauses of the Athanasius Creed to be wholly received and believed.' What kind of conformists these are I know not; but I have shown elsewhere that their scruples would have been no less about these damnatory clauses in the Church of France.

4. He says [12], 'Bishop Taylor was against the Ninth Article about original sin.' Then, I say, he was against the Tenth and Eleventh Articles of the French Confession. A private man's opinion is no reason for the Church to throw away her doctrine: but if he does Bishop Taylor wrong he must answer for it.

5. 'Many called *Arminians* are against the Tenth Article, which says we have no power to do good works without the grace of God preventing us [13].' It was kindly done of Mr. Baxter to put the Arminians among those good men whose scruples ought to be considered: but neither the assembly of

[10] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 9.) See also Calvin, Admonit. ult. ad Westphal. (Oper. t. 8. p. 714.... Scriptura testatur Christum a resurrectione corpus retinuisse quod habuerat, neque naturam ejus mutatam, &c.

[11] English Nonconformity, ibid. (p. 110.)

[12] Ibid. (p. 110.)

[13] Ibid. (p. 110.)

divines who drew up the Confession of Faith to be presented to the Parliament in 1646, nor the French Church, ever had any regard to such scruples. For the former decreed [14], 'that man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation: so as a natural man being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself or to prepare himself thereto. And for the other, I have proved before in the chapter about subscription [15], that the French Church obliged all her ministers not only to subscribe, but swear to the decrees of the Synod of Dort against the Arminians; and made almost an hundred canons of her own in one synod to secure the same points against them. How comes this then to be a charge also against the Church of England for want of moderation?

6. But 'many conformists are against those words of the Eleventh Article [16], *We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of Christ.*' I doubt Mr. Baxter was mistaken in his men, and does them manifest wrong; for I never yet heard of any such conformists. But if any such there be, they must be as much against the Protestant doctrine of justification in all other Churches; and particularly the Eighteenth Article of the French Confession which says [17], 'We believe that our whole righteousness is founded in the remission of our sins; which, as David saith, is our only happiness. Wherefore we do utterly reject all other means by which men think they may be justified before God; and casting away all opinion of our virtues and merits, we do altogether rest upon the sole obedience of Jesus Christ, &c.'

As for Mr. Baxter's reason which he brings to prove that the conformists contradict this article [18]; because they say there is

[14] See the Advice of the Assembly of Divines to the Parliament, ch. 9. art. 3. (Lond. 1647. p. 20.)

[15] Ch. 1. p. 16.

[16] English Nonconformity, ibid. (p. 110.)

[17] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 10.)

[18] Antidot. C. Trident. Sess. 6. (Oper. t. 8. p. 245.) Libenter sane confitemur, quotidiano bonorum operum profectu crescere debere fideles: bonaque opera, quibus ornati sunt a Deo, interdum justitiæ titulo insigniri. Verum, quum hæc tota operum dignatio non ex alio fonte manet, quam gratuitæ acceptionis; quam absurdum foret, hanc ab illa labefactari! Cur non reminiscuntur, quod pueri in scholis didicerunt, non pugnare quod subordinatur?

a subordinate righteousness spoken of in Scripture; Calvin has long ago proved that to be a mistake, or rather a sophism in argumentation. For things that are subordinate do not contradict one another; as he argues well against the Council of Trent: 'We freely confess that the good works of the faithful are sometimes honoured with the title of righteousness. But forasmuch as all the whole worth of such works flows from no other fountain but that of free grace, it would be absurd to say they take off any from that. Why do they not remember what they learned when they were boys at school, that what is subordinate to another thing does not contradict it.'

If Calvin had had to do with Mr. Baxter he would have sent him to school again with the Fathers of Trent, to have learned that a subordinate righteousness does not contradict our being accounted righteous only for the merits of Christ.

7. He says, 'Many think that good works spring not necessarily from faith, as the Twelfth Article speaks, but freely[19].' But if any think so, they are ignorant objectors, and contend about words to no purpose. For *necessarily* and *freely* do not always contradict one another. However, the Twenty-second Article of the French has the very same word[20].

8. 'Many think that merit of congruity may be held against the Thirteenth Article.' 'And that men by natural or antecedent works may be made meet to receive grace; which Dr. Hammond in his Annotations seemeth much to insist upon, under the name of *probity*[21].' But does the Dr. ever say that men by mere natural works, done without all grace, may deserve grace? Does he own this merit of congruity? Does he not always ascribe all goodness to the grace of God? Even the probity he speaks of was an effect of grace, in such Jewish proselytes as Cornelius, and such other devout men, who feared God, and wrought righteousness, and were accepted of him. (Acts 10, 35.) But the Dr.'s authority, right or wrong, must be made use of to justify Pelagians, and such good men as have scruples upon them about the grace of God and man's natural ability to do good.

9. His next concern is for Dr. Hammond again, and his

[19] English Nonconformity, ibid. (p. 110.)

[20] Quick. (ibid. p. 11.)

[21] Baxter, ibid. (p. 110.)

followers who subscribe the Fourteenth Article, and yet[22] 'write for good works over and above God's commandments, as only counselled by God and voluntarily done; which this article calls arrogancy and impiety.' That which the Article condemns is the Popish doctrine of works of supererogation; that is, 'such voluntary works whereby men declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants."' If Dr. Hammond, or any of his followers, writ for works of supererogation against this Article, the Church had no reason to consider their scruples: for this is the doctrine of all Protestant Churches. But if Mr. Baxter again charges them falsely, he alone must answer for it.

10. He says next, 'The Fifteenth Article is denied by them that think infants sinless when baptized[23].' What then? Must these good men's scruples also be considered, and the Church cashier this Article, which only asserts Christ's prerogative, against the Papists, of being the only person in our nature that ever was without sin? This were to own not only the Virgin Mary, but all other infants, to be born without original sin, and to give a supersedeas to the Ninth Article and this together, contrary to the doctrine of all other Protestant Churches.

11. 'Many deny falling from grace given, against the Sixteenth Article.' But did ever any good Christian deny falling from grace in the sense of the Article; that is, falling into deadly sin after baptism? Let us hear the words of the Article itself: 'Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is the sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may rise again and amend our lives; and therefore they are to be condemned who say, they can no more sin as long as they live here; or deny place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.' Here *falling from grace given* is explained by *falling into deadly sin after baptism*, which

[22] Ibid. (p. 110.)

[23] Ibid. (p. 110.)

none ever denied, except Catharists or Libertines, who call their foulest vices no sins after regeneration; if learned men [24] give us a true account of their doctrine. And would the Church do well to favour these men's scruples also?

12. He says [25], 'Dr. Hammond and his followers seem to deny the absolute election described in the Seventeenth Article.' This is but faintly spoken, he durst not charge them home here. They only seem to deny it: then perhaps Mr. Baxter misunderstood them, and they did not deny it. But if they did, the Church is not obliged to alter her doctrine in compliment to them, no more than the Dutch or French Churches did, out of respect to Arminius, in the synods of Dort and Charenton.

13. But 'many good men think some are saved that live up to the light of nature; and yet the Eighteenth Article curseth them that say so [26].' But Mr. Baxter does not deal fairly with this Article; for he leaves out the principal thing upon which the curse is laid; which is, that salvation may be had other ways than by the name of Christ. The words of the Article are these: 'They are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.'

Now there is a great difference between saying, *Every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, without any regard to the name or merit of Christ;* and saying, *Some are saved that live up to the light of nature,* when those who say it affirm at the same time, that they are not saved by virtue of the law of nature, though that be the only law they have to walk by, but by the name and merit of Christ, without which no one can be saved. The one is expressly condemned and accursed in the Article; but some think the other is not so, because it derogates nothing from the death and satisfaction

[24] Vid. Calvin. Instruct. adv. Libertin. c. 18. (Oper. t. 8. p. 389.) Hoc enim principium sumunt..... Garriunt Christianum debere sese affectioni suæ committere, neque amplius peccatum intueri &c.—Conf. Rainoldi Theses de Scriptura. Thes. 1. n. 9. p. 69. (p. 62.) Sequitur enodandum, &c.

[25] Baxter, ibid. (p. 110.)

[26] Ibid. (p. 110.)

of Christ, who may be a Saviour by God's infinite mercy to some who never had any more than a virtual and implicit knowledge of him. The one is a doctrine of the Alcoran, invented on purpose to promote the policy of the Turkish empire; the other a doctrine embraced by Christians of note in all ages, from Justin Martyr to Zuinglius and the Reformation; and, by those that embrace it, is not thought contrary to the present Article; though Mr. Baxter makes them flatly contradict one another.

But however that matter be, it is certain the Church of England advances no other doctrine than is delivered in several Articles of the French Confession, more especially the Thirteenth and Seventeenth, which say [27], 'that the sacrifice of Christ is the only thing that reconciles us unto God;' and 'that there is no other means or remedy whereby to obtain remission of sins, but only his death for our sakes.' If so, salvation cannot be attained by the law of nature, excluding the name of Christ.

14. His next exception is in favour of the Churchmen, who [28] 'like not the description given of the visible Church in the Nineteenth Article, and think that the Church of Rome never erred in matters of faith; contrary to what is there asserted.' But what is that description of the visible Church which they dislike? Why, 'that it is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' And are there any Churchmen that dislike this? Yes, because there is no mention of bishops or their government in it. And would Mr. Baxter have liked it ever the better if there had been? No, but he is concerned for the Churchmen who cannot subscribe this Article but contrary to their judgment. But these episcopal Churchmen have often told him and others, that it is not contrary to their judgment to subscribe this Article: for in all their disputes with the Papists they never require more than these two notes of the Church. They say with Bishop Andrews [29], 'that though episcopal government be of divine insti-

[27] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. pp. 9, 10.)

[28] Baxter, ibid. (p. 110.)

[29] Respons. ad Ep. 2. Molinæi. Int. Opuscul. (p. 176.) (Reprint. Oxon. 1852. p. 191.) Nec tamen si

tution, yet it is not so absolutely necessary as that there can be no Church, nor sacraments, nor salvation without it. He is blind that sees not many Churches flourishing without it; and he must have an heart as hard as iron that will deny them salvation. Something may be wanting, that is of divine right, in the exterior regimen of the Church; and yet salvation be obtained therein.'

Now this is the case of the French Church, which Bishop Andrews and his followers allow to have all the necessary and essential notes of a true Church, though episcopal government was never settled among them.

On the other hand, the French Churches furnish the episcopal divines with arguments against Mr. Baxter and their other adversaries. For they say, 'that where episcopal government and superiority is regularly settled in any Church, there it is so far necessary to submit to it, as that they who do otherwise are guilty of raising a schism in the Church.' So that though episcopal government be not an essential note of the Church where it cannot be had, yet it so far necessary to the well-being of a Church where it is legally established and may be had, that it is schismatical to attempt any innovations, or raise stirs and divisions about it. And if thus much be granted to these episcopal divines, they will have no need to have episcopal government put into the Article as a third note of the Church; though the good men, the Brownists, were once for having discipline made a third note; and so aggrieved for the want of it, that they unchurched the Church of England, and forsook her communion upon it; and I wonder Mr. Baxter should forget to mention their scruples also here as fit to be considered.

But Mr. Baxter's eye was only upon the Churchmen, whom he would fain charge with opposition to this Article: therefore he says further, 'some of them deny that the Church of Rome hath erred *de fide*.' I have heard of some Churchmen who would charitably think, that the fundamentals of Christianity

nostra [ecclesia] *divini juris* sit, inde sequitur vel quod *sine ea salus non sit*, vel quod stare non possit ecclesia. Cœcus sit, qui non videat stantes sine ea ecclesias: ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget. Nos non sumus illi ferrei: latum inter ista discrimen ponimus. Potest abesse aliquid, quod divini juris sit, in exteriore quidem regimine, ut tamen substet salus, &c.

have been all along preserved among the corruptions of the Romish Church; but I never heard of any that undertook her vindication so far as to say she was never guilty of any errors in matters of faith: and if Mr. Baxter knew any such, he would have done well to have named them. But admit there were any, their dissent is no argument to the Church to alter her doctrine, which is the same that is maintained in all the Reformed Churches. I will here recite the Twenty-eighth Article of the French Confession[30], and let the reader judge, whether it does not rather bear harder upon the Romish Church for her errors than our Article does: 'We protest that where the word of God is not received, nor any profession of obedience made to it, and where there is no use of the sacraments, that there, properly speaking, we cannot judge there is any church. Therefore we condemn the Popish assemblies, because the pure word of God is banished out of them; and also the sacraments of faith corrupted, adulterated, falsified, or even abolished; and for that all kinds of superstitions and idolatries reign in them. Therefore we hold, that all those who join in such actions and communicate with them do separate themselves from the body of Christ. Yet, because there are some small footsteps of a church in the Papacy, and the substance of baptism remains among them, the efficacy of which depends not upon him that administers it, we confess that they that are baptized there do not need a second baptism.'

Calvin speaks much after the same manner in his letter to Zozinus[31]: 'We so deny the name of a church to Papists, as only to say, there remain some relics of a church among them.' Upon which account he thinks baptism administered by them to be valid, though it be administered by idolaters, and corrupted by their superstitions[32].

[30] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 12.)

[31] Ep. 1. ad Zozin. (Oper. t. 9. p. 51.) Deinde sic Papistis detrahimus ecclesiæ nomen, ut tamen illic quasdam manere reliquias ecclesiæ non negemus.

[32] See also his Second Epistle to Zozinus. (ibid. p. 57.) Also his Epistle to Farel. (p. 258.) Deest enim Papismo fundamentum, quo sufful-tum esse volo nomen ecclesiæ..... Non ergo video cur negemus aliquam illic etiamnum extare ecclesiæ faciem, &c. [Compare also Calvin, (Ep. ad N. on the Question, Si infans sine baptismo per occasionem discesserit,) where he says, Etsi vero illi etiam non sunt excusandi, qui istic offerunt ad baptismum liberos, ubi superstitionibus Papisticis pol-

CHAP. III.

That the Church's power to decree rites and ceremonies according to the Twentieth Article is acknowledged by the French Church.

Many and various are the objections against this part of the Twentieth Article, 'that the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies.'

Some say, all ceremonies are to be left to Christian liberty, and therefore the Church has no power to enjoin any. So the Scotch minister told King James, 'that he would hold conformity with his Majesty's ordinances for matters of doctrine; but for matters of ceremony, they were to be left in Christian liberty unto every man[32].'

2. Others go further, and assert upon a worse principle, 'that the Church has no power to decree rites and ceremonies, because nothing is to be done in the worship of God for which we have not an express divine command in particular to determine us.' Both which are such absurd paradoxes, that Mr. Baxter himself could never digest them; and it must be owned he has written as severely as any man against them. But yet he cannot let this Article pass wholly without a stricture. For he says[33], 'The Church's power to decree ceremonies being unlimited in this Article, is doubted of by good Christians.' But those good Christians sure were none of Calvin's disciples, nor governed by the discipline of the French Church, which asserts the same power to herself and all other Churches, without any other limitations than those expressed in our Article; that is, 'that such ceremonies be not contrary to God's Word, nor enforced upon men as things absolutely necessary in order to salvation.' In the Thirty-second Article of their Confession they thus express themselves[34]: 'We believe it to be expedient that they who are chosen governors of any Church should consult among themselves by what means the whole body may

luantur, non possunt tamen rejicere notam illam Christianismi, quales etiam istic exstat, quin hoc ad Dei ipsius contemptum pertineat. ED.]

[32] See Thomas Rogers's Exposition of the Article in his Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, professed and protected in the Realm of England, expressed in the Thirty-Nine Articles agreed upon in 1562 and 1604, &c. (p. 104, in the margin.)

[33] English Nonconformity, ch. 24. (p. 110.)

[34] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 13.)

conveniently be governed; yet so as that they do not swerve from what Christ hath appointed. And this doth not hinder but that some Churches may have peculiar constitutions, as they shall think most convenient for themselves.' Then certainly every Church is judge for herself, both of what is expedient and what is agreeable to the appointment of Christ.

The next Article[35] says, 'We exclude all such human devices and laws as are introduced under pretence of divine worship to bind the conscience; but we admit such as serve to maintain concord, and keep every man in due obedience.' That is, such laws as are only made for order and uniformity they willingly allow of. Which they express more clearly in another Confession extant among Calvin's works[36]: 'We acknowledge, say they, that all Churches have power to make laws and ordinances for establishing a common policy among themselves; because all things in the house of God ought to be done regularly and in order. And therefore all such constitutions are to be obeyed, provided they be not superstitious, nor ensnare the conscience with an opinion of necessity. And such as refuse obedience in this case we esteem self-conceited and stubborn.'

Calvin has a very excellent and long discourse upon this matter in his Institutions[37], too long to be here inserted: I will select only a few remarkable passages out of it. First, he says, 'If we would consult the welfare of the Church we must

[35] Ibid. (p. 13.)

[36] Vid. Confess. Fid. (Oper. t. 8. p. 95.) Fatemur, tum omnes, tum etiam singulas ecclesias hoc jus habere, ut leges et statuta sibi condant, ad politiam communem inter suos constituendam, quum omnia in domo Dei rite et ordine fieri oporteat; ejusmodi porro statutis obedientiam deferendam esse, modo ne conscientias astringant, neque superstitio illic adhibeatur. Qui hoc detrectent, cerebrosi et pervicaces apud nos habentur.

[37] L. 4. c. 10. n. 27. (Oper. t. 9. 322.) Quamobrem, si ecclesiæ incolumitati bene prospectum volumus, diligenter omnino curandum est, quod Paulus jubet, *ut decenter omnia et secundum ordinem fiant*. At quum *in hominum moribus* tanta insit diversitas, tanta in animis varietas, tanta in judiciis ingeniisque pugna: neque politia ulla satis firma est, nisi certis legibus constituta: nec sine stata quadam forma servari ritus quispiam potest: huc ergo quæ conducunt leges, tantum abest, ut damnemus, ut his ablatis dissolvi suis nervis ecclesias, totasque deformari ac dissipari, contendamus. Neque enim haberi potest, quod Paulus exigit, *ut decenter omnia et ordine fiant*, nisi additis observationibus, tanquam vinculis quibusdam, ordo ipse et decorum constat. Id tantum semper in istis observationibus excipiendum est, ne aut ad salutem credantur necessariæ, atque ita conscientias religione obstringant: aut ad Dei cultum conferantur, atque ita illis reponatur pietas.

have an especial regard to that rule of the Apostle, "Let all things be done decently, and according to order." But now, because there is such diversity in the dispositions of men, such variety in their minds, and difference in their judgments and tempers; no polity can be upheld but by certain laws, nor any rites be observed without a stated form. Therefore we are so far from condemning the laws which conduce to this end, that we say, to take them away is to cut the sinews of the Church, and render it both weak and deformed. For there can be no order and decency observed, as the Apostle requires, unless laws be added, as certain ties, to bind men up to the observance of them. Only in such laws two things must always be excepted: first, that they be not believed necessary to salvation, and imposed upon the conscience as such; and, secondly, that they be not taken for parts of God's worship, and religion be placed in them.'

Then he tells us what he means by *decency* and *order*[38]: 'The end of *decency* is, partly that by appointing such rites as will create a reverence for holy things we may by such helps be excited to devotion: partly that our modesty and gravity, which is commendable in all our actions, may there more especially appear.' And for *order*, he places it in 'the governor's making, and the people's obeying, such constitutions as are proper to take away all confusion, barbarity, contumacy, tumults, and dissensions out of the Church; and preserve its peace and tranquillity inviolable.' He gives several instances in each kind, and then concludes with these remarkable words[39]: 'All ecclesiastical laws, which we esteem holy and useful, may be referred to these two heads; such as relate to rites and ceremonies, and such as relate to discipline and peace.'

Can any one speak plainer to the sense of the Article than

[38] Ibid. n. 28. (ibid. p. 322.)... Ac decori quidem finis est, partim, ut dum adhibentur ritus, qui venerationem rebus sacris concilient, talibus adminiculis ad pietatem excitemur; partim etiam ut modestia et gravitas, quæ in omnibus honestis actionibus spectari debet, illic maxime eluceat. In ordine hoc primum est, ut, qui præsunt, regulam ac legem bene regendi noverint: plebs vero, quæ regitur, ad obedientiam Dei rectamque disciplinam assuefiat. Deinde ut bene composito ecclesiæ statu, paci et tranquillitati consulatur.

[39] Ibid. n. 29. (p. 323.) Ita omnes ecclesiasticas constitutiones, quas pro sanctis et salutaribus recipimus, in duo capita referre licet: alteræ enim ad ritus et cæremonias, alteræ ad disciplinam et pacem respiciunt.

this? If ecclesiastical laws, made about rites and ceremonies, may be holy and useful, then doubtless the Church has power to decree them.

In the next paragraph he answers the scruples of those whom he terms *over timorous men, nimis meticulosos*, who with the Flaccians in Germany, and our Brownists in England, rejected all church-laws about rites and ceremonies as mere human inventions, because they were not particularly prescribed in the Word of God. To these he answers[40], 'that such laws are founded on the authority of Scripture, and so are both human and divine.' Which he illustrates by the instance of kneeling at public prayer, which is the law of France and Geneva. 'If it be asked,' says he[41], 'whether this be an human tradition, which any man may refuse or neglect at pleasure: I answer, it is so human as also to be divine. It is of God, as it is part of that decency commended to us by the Apostle. (1 Cor. 14, 40.) But it is of men, as it particularly points out and specifies what the Scripture only declared in general. By this one example we may make an estimate of all things of this kind. Forasmuch as Christ hath not only fully comprised, but also clearly expounded to us in his Holy Oracles, the whole sum of true righteousness, and all the parts of divine worship, and whatever is necessary to salvation; in these things we are only to hear our Master. But in outward discipline and ceremonies he would not particularly prescribe what we should do, because he foresaw that would depend upon the different condition of times, and he did not judge one

[40] Ibid. n. 30. (infr.) Hic testari operæ pretium est, eas demum humanas constitutiones me probare, quæ et Dei auctoritate fundatæ, et ex Scriptura desumptæ, adeoque prorsus divinæ sunt.

[41] Ibid. (p. 323.) Quæritur, sitne humana traditio, quam repudiare vel negligere cuivis liceat. Dico sic esse humanam, ut simul sit divina. Dei est, quatenus pars est decori illius, cujus cura et observatio nobis per Apostolum commendatur: hominum autem, quatenus specialiter designat quod in genere fuerat indicatum magis quam expositum. Ab hoc uno exemplo æstimare licet, quid de toto *hoc genere* sit sentiendum: nempe quia Dominus et totam veræ justitiæ summam, et omnes cultus numinis sui partes, et quidquid ad salutem necessarium erat, sacris suis oculis tum fideliter complexus est, tum perspicue enarravit: in his solus Magister est audiendus. Quia autem in externa disciplina et cærimoniis non voluit sigillatim præscribere, quid sequi debeamus, (quod istud pendere a temporum conditione prævideret, neque judicaret unam sæculis omnibus formam convenire,) confugere hic oportet ad generales quas dedit regulas, ut ad eas exigantur quæcunque ad ordinem et decorum præcipi necessitas ecclesiæ postulabit.

form agreeable to all ages: therefore in this case we must have recourse to those general rules he has left us, and thereby square those laws that are proper to be made for the preservation of order and decency in the Church.'

This is a full answer upon true principles, to those who condemn all ceremonies as human inventions in the worship of God, that are not particularly commanded in Scripture. It were easy to add many other testimonies out of Calvin's Epistles, and Beza, Spanheim, Chamier, Amyrault, Rivet, and Turretin, but as some of these have been produced by others, so I need not heap up authorities in so plain a matter. I only add the advice which Calvin gave to Farel [42], and wish all who are concerned would follow it: 'Use your endeavour, that the brethren may not pertinaciously contend about ceremonies: we are free from all men, yet let us be the servants of peace and concord.' They are words fit to be written in letters of gold, and would all men but follow the direction which is given, we should have no disputes about ceremonies in the Church.

But alas, men have been so terrified with frightful arguments against ecclesiastical laws about rites and ceremonies, that they are scarce themselves when they think of them. They have been made to believe, that it is usurping dominion over their consciences, a depriving them of their Christian liberty, adding to the Word of God, inventing new sacraments, and imposing other necessary terms of salvation upon them, more than what Christ appointed. Now though it might be sufficient to answer all this in general by saying, that whatever force there is in any of these objections it holds as well against the French Church as ours, whose doctrine I have shown to be the same: yet because these arguments are popular, and gain by noise and terror what they could not do by strength, I will consider them distinctly, and show what answers are given to each of them in particular by the best writers of the French Church.

[42] Ep. 5. ad Farel. sub fin. (Oper. t. 9. p. 5.) De cærimoniis effice apud fratres, ne eadem certent cum vicinis pertinacia. Ita fiet, ut omnia nostra sint, nos ab omnibus liberi, servi simus pacis et concordiæ.

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ome cases without infringing it, and so may
authority in others.

his is the resolution of Calvin[43], Rivet[44], and
se authorities are produced at large by Dr. Du
of Beza, in his Epistle to the French Churcl
re he has these words of the same import[47]:

as the Spirit of God commands us to submit to every ordinance of man, as well the magistrate, who is the guardian of political order, as also those who preside and watch over our souls; it follows, that he abuses his Christian liberty who obeys not willingly either the magistrate or those who are set over him in the Lord.'

Again [48]: 'The use of indifferent things may be restrained either by a civil or ecclesiastical constitution. For though God only can properly bind the conscience, yet so far as either the magistrate, who is the minister of God, judges it convenient for the commonwealth that something, in its own nature lawful, should not be done; or the Church, having respect to order, decency, and education, makes laws about indifferent things; such laws are carefully to be observed by the faithful; who are bound in conscience not, knowingly and wittingly with a rebellious mind, either to do what is prohibited or omit what is commanded.'

Beza did not think church-laws about rites and ceremonies were against men's consciences, when he requires submission to them for conscience sake. So does also their late eminent Professor at Geneva, Mr. Turretin [49], and his contractor Riissenius; saying [50], 'that obedience is due to human laws,

vel suis magistratibus vel præpositis suis sponte non paret in Domino.

[48] Ibid. (p. 155.) ..... Coërcetur earum rerum mediarum usus ex constitutione vel politica vel ecclesiastica. Etsi enim conscientias proprie solus Deus ligat, tamen quatenus vel magistratus, qui Dei minister est, judicat interesse reipublicæ, ut quippiam alioqui per se licitum non fiat; vel ecclesia ordinis et decori adeoque ædificationis rationem habens, leges aliquas de rebus mediis rite condit; ejusmodi leges piis omnibus sunt observandæ, et eatenus conscientias ligant, ut nemo sciens et prudens, rebellandi animo, possit absque peccato vel facere, quæ ita prohibentur, vel omittere, quæ sic præcipiuntur.

[49] [Francis Turretin was born at Geneva in 1625. He studied under Diodati and Spanheim. He became Professor of Theology at Geneva in 1653, and occupied the chair till his death in 1687. His Institutes hold a foremost rank among the best systems of Calvinistic divinity. Ed.]

[50] Compend. Turretin. loc. 16. sect. 29. ult. et sect. 30. De Canonibus Ecclesiæ. p. 228. (p. 517.) ... Legibus humanis, sive politicis, sive ecclesiasticis, debetur obedientia propter conscientiam, quæ jubet nos obtemperare Deo magistratum et ministerium instituenti.... Licet vero pastoribus non competat potestas νομοθετικὴ proprie dicta, seu jus condendarum legum, quæ conscientiam obligent; habent tamen potestatem condendorum canonum et constitutionum ecclesiasticarum ad εὐταξίαν et decorum, quæ versantur, non circa ipsam doctrinam fidei et cultus, sed circa adiaphora et libera, ut sunt tempus, locus,

whether political or ecclesiastical, and that for conscience sake. ... Pastors have power to make canons and constitutions about indifferent things which concern not faith and worship, but decency and order; such as time and place, and the forms and rules of prayer, and sermons, and administration of sacraments, and fastings, &c.'

They all say, indeed, that such canons do not directly and immediately oblige the conscience, as God's laws do, by virtue of any intrinsic power of their own; but their obligatory power is from the command of God, who bids us obey them for conscience sake. But this distinction as explained by them against the Papist, though mistaken by some, does very much confirm what I have been asserting, that it is not against conscience and Christian liberty to obey the decrees of the Church, provided they be not thrust upon us as the unalterable commands of God, or [do not] prescribe in matters of faith and substantials of God's worship, which they have no power to meddle with, but only indifferent things and circumstantials of religion.

CHAP. V.

That to decree rites and ceremonies is not to add to the Word of God.

This objection proceeds upon the same mistaken principle with the former; to wit, that the Scripture has prescribed not only the substantials, but also the circumstantials of religious worship, and that it is unlawful to use any rite or ceremony not expressly enjoined in Scripture. The absurdity of which principle is sufficiently exposed by learned men [51], who show, that it is impossible to have any religious worship at all if this principle should thoroughly prevail. All I am here to prove is, that it is no doctrine of the French Church to assert, that the decreeing rites and ceremonies is adding to the Word of God.

forma ac norma precum, concionum, administrationis sacramentorum, jejuniorum, eleemosynarum, &c.

[51] See Dr. William Sherlock's Discourse about Church Unity, in defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, &c. ch. 2. s. 2. *Who are the Dividers?* (Lond. 1681. pp. 34, seqq.) It were easy to ask a great many more such questions, &c.—Dr. Whitby's Protestant Reconciler, part 2. (Lond. 1683. 8vo.) Earnestly persuading the Dissenting Laity to join in full communion with the Church of England, &c.

They have often occasion to speak of this in their disputes with the Papists, whom they urge with this argument against unwritten traditions; so that we cannot be at a loss to know their sense about it. Chamier [52] has two or three whole chapters against Bellarmin and others upon this very point, 'that it is unlawful to add to the Word of God:' but then he explains his meaning to be only in matters of faith and manners necessary to salvation: 'If nothing be to be added to the Scripture nor taken from it, then the Scripture perfectly contains all things necessary to salvation.'

He does not say the Scripture contains all rites and ceremonies that are lawful to be used, and that to use any other is to add to the Word of God: no, he expressly denies that to be any part of the controversy. Therefore when Hosius [53] urged, 'that the Reformed Churches were as much guilty of adding to the Word of God as the Papists, because they had several new rites and customs not to be found in Scripture;' he [54] charges them 'with ignorance of the thing in dispute, for turning the controversy from doctrines of faith to points of discipline and ceremony, which Christians have always thought to be matters of free observation.'

He instances in the custom of singing the Psalms promiscuously, men and women together, and singing them in French rhymes. 'They say,' says he [55], 'this is not to be found in Scripture. But what they infer from thence, that we add to the Word of God as much as they, is weak and foolish. As if

[52] Panstrat. De Canone, l. 8. c. 6. n. 1. (t. 1. p. 219 c.) Si a Scriptura nihil detrahendum eidemque nihil est addendum, ergo Scriptura omnia perfecte continet ad salutem necessaria.

[53] [Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Wormia and a Cardinal, was born at Cracow in 1503, and died in 1579. His work alluded to was entitled *De Origine Hæresium nostri Temporis*. Lovan. 1559. 8vo. Ed.]

[54] Ibid. l. 9. c. 11. n. 3. (p. 313 g.) .... Hosius sese ostendit hominem harum controversiarum nondum capacem, quum discedit a dogmatis fidei ad disciplinæ partes, quas semper Catholici crediderunt esse liberæ observationis.

[55] Ibid. n. 5. (p. 314 e.) At hoc, inquiunt, non habetur in Scriptura. Inepte. Quasi vero ageretur de dogmate fidei, quod esse perpetuum oporteat: et non de decentia ordinis, quæ variari possit, pro locis, temporibus, immo etiam personis..... In ritibus consultissimum est Augustini consilium in Epistola centesima decima nona: *Una in his saluberrima regula tenenda est, ut, quæ non sunt contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores, et habent aliquid ad exhortationem vitæ melioris, ubicunque institui videmus, vel instituta cognoscimus, non solum non improbemus, sed etiam laudando et imitando sectemur, si aliquorum infirmitas non ita impedit, ut amplius detrimentum sit.*

this were to be reckoned among articles of faith, which ought to be always the same; and not among matters of decency and order, which may be changed according as the difference of place, times, and persons requires. In all such matters as rites and ceremonies, St. Austin's counsel is best to be followed, which he gives in his 119th Epistle[56]: '*There is one safe rule to be observed in these; that whatever things we see or know to be ordained in any Church, which are not contrary to faith nor good manners, and have any thing in them to excite us to good life, we should not only not condemn them, but commend and imitate them, if the weakness of some do not so far hinder, that it would be more harm than good to do it.*'

From whence it is plain, that the crime of adding to the Word of God is not committed by appointing new rites and ceremonies not commanded in Scripture; but in propounding new doctrines of faith and manners, which God has not commanded as things necessary to salvation. And the reason which Chamier gives for this difference is very sound and rational: because the one are precisely determined by God; the other not so, but left to the liberty and discretion of every Church, to determine as she sees occasion, by that general rule of the Apostle: "Let all things be done decently and in order."

Dr. Rivet states the question about adding unwritten traditions to the Word of God, after the very same manner. 'The question,' says he[57], 'is not about things pertaining to decency and order in ecclesiastical assemblies, the circumstances of which, we confess, are not found particularized in Scripture; but only general rules, out of which church-governors, whose duty it is to keep order in the Church, may with prayer to God, and consideration of circumstances, appoint what and how far any thing is to be observed in the Church. Therefore he charges the Papists with changing the state of the controversy from matters of faith to matters of ceremony, when they

[56] [Ad Januarium, juxt. Ed. Benedict. Ep. 55. ED.]

[57] Exercit. 13. in Gen. p. 71. (t. 1. p. 57 ad col. dextr. summ.) Inter nos non agitatur controversia de rebus ad εὐταξίαν et ordinem conventuum ecclesiasticorum pertinentibus, quarum circumstantias omnes fatemur in Scripturis non haberi, sed tantum regulas communes, ex quibus, qui præsunt, et quorum est ordinem in ecclesia servare, possunt, adhibita invocatione nominis Dei et circumstantiarum consideratione, constituere quid sit observandum et quousque.

object to Protestants, that they add to the Word of God by their unwritten ceremonies, as much as Papists do by their unwritten traditions in matters of faith.' This he justly terms *false argumentation.*

To the same purpose Peter Du Moulin, in his answer to Perron, of the Novelty of Popery[58], speaking of the pretended power and authority of the Church to add unto Scripture, says notwithstanding, 'There be many things that concern ecclesiastical policy and outward order, which we do not reject, although they be not in Scripture; provided there be nothing in them against good manners, and that they exceed not in number, and that they be not given as necessary to salvation, and equalled to the doctrine of faith contained in Scripture.'

So again, in his Buckler of Faith, or Defence of the French Confession against the exceptions of Arnoux the Jesuit, Arnoux having said, 'that the fifth article of the Confession rejected all observations and customs of the Church, under the notion of additions to the Word of God;' he replies, that this was a misrepresentation of their belief[59]: 'It is false that we reject all traditions: for besides that the Scripture itself is a tradition, there are many things which concern ecclesiastical policy, and exterior order, which are not specified in the Scripture. We only reject those traditions, which if they were received, the consequence would be, that the Scripture contained not all doctrines necessary to salvation.'

These allegations do sufficiently show us the sense of the French Church, that by *additions to the Word of God*, they do not mean as our Dissenters do, ecclesiastical laws or traditions about indifferent rites and ceremonies; but such traditions as obtrude upon men other doctrines of faith and rules of life, as necessarily required by God in order to salvation.

I shall only add to these the testimony of Le Blanc[60], a man famous for his candour and skill in exact stating of the controversies betwixt Protestants and Papists. Now he tells us[61], 'it

[58] B. 1. ch. 51. Of Traditions. (p. 151.) Besides there be many things, &c.

[59] Art. 5. (p. 42.) Lastly, it is false, &c.

[60] [Professor of Theology at Sedan. His much esteemed *Theses Theologicæ* were originally published by Mr. Baxter, with whose doctrines they exactly accord. Ed.]

[61] Thes. de Script. Plenit. part. 1. n. 6, 7. (p. 56. out of place.) Ut vitetur omnis ambiguitas, nonnulli ex nostris theologis utuntur hic dis-

is the sense of all their divines, that a distinction is to be made betwixt those things wherein the substance and body of Christian religion consists, and which are necessary by divine institution, not only to form our faith, but our manners, and the polity of the Church, and those other things, which are but as it were the appendices to the substance and ornaments of the body; and which neither in their own nature nor by divine institution are necessary, but indifferent, and only received into use for the sake of order and decency: such as many parts of ecclesiastical discipline appointed by canon, and various rites and ceremonies, both universal and particular, which are matters of free observation; save only, that no one, by his own private authority, may or ought to contemn or reject them. All things of the former kind we assert to be contained in Scripture; but not these latter, which are only accidental to the faith and manners and discipline of the Church: for there are many things appertaining to the circumstances of divine worship and ecclesiastical polity, which we confess are not delivered particularly in Scripture, but left to the prudence of church-governors, under this general precept, *that all things be done decently and in order in the Church of God.* And therefore,' he says, 'the doctors of the Romish Church labour in vain to prove the Reformed Churches as much guilty of adding to the Word of God as themselves; because they observe

tinctione clariori et commodiori. Observant enim distinguendum esse inter ea, in quibus substantia est, et quasi corpus religionis Christianæ, et quæ ex vi divinæ institutionis necessaria sunt, non tantum ad fidem, sed etiam ad mores formandos, politiamque ecclesiæ continendam: et alia, quæ sunt tantum hujus substantiæ veluti appendices, et corporis hujus ornamenta, quæque nec ex natura sua, nec ex divina institutione necessaria sunt, sed indifferentia, ordinisque tantum et decoris gratia in usum recepta: ut sunt multæ disciplinæ partes variis canonibus sancitæ, ritus etiam et cærimoniæ variæ, tum universales, tum particulares, observationes liberæ quidem, sed hactenus, ut nemo sua privata auctoritate illa possit aut debeat contemnere rejicereve. Res prioris generis asserimus sacra Scriptura contineri; non item alias istas, quæ sunt ad ecclesiæ fidem, mores, et disciplinam veluti accidentariæ. Multa enim quæ pertinent ad varias divini cultus et ecclesiæ politiæ circumstantias, fatemur non esse sigillatim in Scriptura tradita; sed relicta prudentiæ præpositorum ecclesiæ sub hoc generali præcepto, ut *omnia fiant ordine et decenter in ecclesia Dei.* Unde patet ab ecclesiæ Romanæ doctoribus frustra contra nos, in hac controversia, varias instantias peti a ritibus, statutis, et cærimoniis quibusdam, quæ in ecclesia antiqua, sive Judaïca sive Christiana, olim observatæ sunt, et etiamnum apud nos servantur, tam in divino cultu, quam in politia ecclesiastica, etiamsi nihil de iis in Scriptura constitutum sit.

some rites and ceremonies in divine worship and ecclesiastical polity which are not particularly enjoined in Scripture: for the controversy is not about these.'

CHAP. VI.

That the French Church does not reject ceremonies because they are significant, but likes them the better upon that account.

Some there are who allow the Church power to decree rites and ceremonies, but except against the undue use and exercise of this power; by which they tell us she presumes to go beyond her commission: 1. In appointing significant or symbolical ceremonies; 2. In making the observance of them necessary to communion and salvation; 3. In imposing them with scandal and offence to such as cannot comply with them, and thereby causing schism and division in the Church.

Now, though these objections concern not the Twentieth Article, which only challenges a legal power to the Church to decree rites and ceremonies; yet because they are some of the most popular objections against ceremonies, now that we are upon this subject, I will here examine them by the rules and principles commonly received in the French Church; and show that the Church of England is neither so singular nor so assuming as some falsely represent her.

First, some accuse her for appointing significant ceremonies; which yet is really a commendation, and it would be a more real objection if they were otherwise. For to what purpose should any Church appoint useless ceremonies that signify nothing? But where is the harm, so long as they signify nothing but what is good, and useful, and decent, and becoming the worship of God? Calvin would have liked them the better for this: for it is one of the conditions which he requires in lawful ceremonies[62], 'that they be significant and expressive of our modesty and gravity in religious actions; and that they be such rites as will conciliate a reverence for holy things, and be proper helps to excite us to piety.' Which sure they cannot do without signifying something.

[62] Institut. l. 4. c. 10. n. 28. See before, ch. 3. p. 51. n. 39.

He says further[63], 'That the decency of a ceremony consists in an aptitude to create veneration for sacred mysteries; so as it may prove *idoneum ad pietatem exercitium, an exercise conducing to devotion;* or at least may be such a congruous ornament to the sacred action as may have its use in admonishing the faithful with what modesty, religion, and reverence they ought to handle sacred things.'

Now can all this be done by ceremonies that signify nothing? But he says further[64], 'That ceremonies may be exercises or instruments of piety, they should be such as will lead us in the right way to Christ.' But insignificant ceremonies can never do this: they must be significant, if they be instructive; and they must put men in mind of something that is good, if they be instruments of piety, and helps to devotion: for devotion is an internal act of the mind, and cannot be raised by outward ceremonies, any otherwise than as they signify something that may move and affect us by its signification.

In another place[65] he expressly approves such ceremonies as are symbolical. 'Lest any one,' says he, 'should accuse me falsely, I would have all pious readers here bear me witness, that I do not contend about ceremonies which serve only for decency and order; nor yet against such as are either symbols of or incitements to that reverence which we owe to God.'

Calvin then did not think it was to appoint new sacraments, if the Church used any symbolical rites, which by their significancy might put men in mind of some spiritual duty, and be outward signs to prompt men to inward devotion. If all such ceremonies were new sacraments, the French Church, which followed Calvin's rules in this matter, would have been as guilty of making new sacraments as any other: for there are abund-

[63] Ibid. n. 29. (p. 322.) Illud nobis decorum erit, quod ita erit ad sacrorum mysteriorum reverentiam aptum, ut sit idoneum ad pietatem exercitium, vel saltem quod ad ornatum faciet actioni congruentem: neque id ipsum sine fructu: sed ut fideles admoneat, quanta modestia, religione, observantia sacra tractare debeant.

[64] Ibid. (p. 323.) Ut pietatis exercitia sint cærimoniæ, ad Christum recta nos deducant necesse est.

[65] De Ver. Eccles. Reformand. Ration. c. 16. (Oper. t. 8. p. 278.) Verum ne quis calumnietur nos in rebus externis nimium esse morosos .. hic testatum velim piis lectoribus, me non de cærimoniis litigare, quæ decoro tantum et ordini serviunt; vel etiam symbola sunt et incitamenta ejus, quam Deo deferimus, reverentiæ.

ance of significant ceremonies in her liturgy and forms of divine service. I will instance in some few.

Their Book of Discipline[66] requires 'all persons to uncover their heads, and bow their knees, both at public and private prayers, in the church and in the family, for this reason; to wit, that they may evidence by those external signs the inward humility of their hearts, and that homage which they pay to God.' Are not these then significant rites, if they be external signs to evidence and signify men's humility and devotion? They say[67], 'The contrary customs argue great irreverence, and give suspicion of pride, and scandalize those that fear God, and therefore they reject them.' Significancy, we see, is their reason still: for as they appointed the one, because they signified reverence and humility; so they forbid the other, because they signified irreverence and pride, and were an hindrance to other men's devotion.

In the form of ordination, described in the same Book[68], there are four significant ceremonies appointed:—1. The minister that ordains must pray standing upright below the pulpit. 2. He must lay his hands upon the head of the person to be ordained. 3. He that is to be ordained must kneel humbly on his knees. 4. When he is ordained the ministers must give him the right hand of fellowship before the people. And this form is unanimously to be observed in all the churches of the kingdom.

They do not here tell us, as before, what those ceremonies signify, but the signification of each is so very natural and obvious that there needs no comment to explain them. The minister who ordains prays standing, to signify that he acts in the name of God, and by his authority. He lays his hands upon the head of the person to be ordained, to signify the conveyance of spiritual blessing to him. The person to be ordained kneels upon his knees, to signify his humility. And when he is ordained, the ministers give him the right hand of fellowship, to signify that they now acknowledge him for a fellow-labourer and partner in the work of the Lord. These are as significant ceremonies as any used in the Church of England; even as kneeling at the communion, or bowing at

[66] Ch. 10. art. 1. (Quick, Introduct. x. 1. p. 43.)
[67] Ibid. (p. 43.)
[68] Ch. 1. art. 8. (ibid. p. 18.)

the name of Jesus, or signing with the sign of the cross in baptism; and whatever may be objected against the one for their significancy, may be as well objected against the other. Yea, sitting itself is a significant ceremony; and some men, when they please, can make use of its significancy as an argument, to prove it to be the most convenient gesture at the communion; because it signifies our rest in Christ. So Didoclavius[69] of old in his *Altare Damascenum*[70]: 'Sitting is commended *per significationem mysterii, for its signifying a mystery*, to wit, our rest in Christ.' And the Authors of the Admonition to the Parliament say, 'it betokens rest and full accomplishment of legal ceremonies in Christ[71].'

One would hardly have guessed at this signification, had not those ritualists expounded it to us; however, we are glad to find it has no worse signification in England; for in some countries it has a signification which is intolerable. The Arians in Poland use it to signify their familiarity with Christ as their fellow creature. For which reason it is forbidden by four general Synods of Lithuania and Poland; to wit, the Synods of Sendomir, Cracow, Peterkow, and Ulodislow, which may be seen in the Consensus Polonus and the Harmony of Confessions. I have often thought, if there was no other reason why sitting should not be used, this one thing were enough to give any man a dislike to it, that it is no where used as a necessary posture, save only by these Arians, who first pleaded the example of our Saviour. For though it be used in the Dutch Church, (which, as Dr. Forbes[72] has proved, is the only Protestant Church that uses sitting,) yet it is not used by them as any necessary posture, but as an indifferent rite and circum-

[69] [David Calderwood, a celebrated historian and defender of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, minister of Crailing, near Jedburgh, in 1604. He was deprived for his opposition to episcopacy in 1617, and retired to Holland till 1625, when he returned and completed his History, &c.

[70] For the full title and account of this book see the Index of Authors at the end of this volume under *Calderwood*. ED.]

[71] See these authors in Hamon L'Estrange's Alliance, ch. 1. p. 29. (Reprint, p. 49.) The ancient authors of the Admonition, &c.

[72] Irenicum, l. 2. c. 16. De Cœna Domini: Part. Quart. De Reverentia et Gestu accipientis, &c. (p. 330.) Neque usquam gentium ullo unquam sæculo invenitur in usu fuisse aut esse sessio in eucharistiæ celebratione, nisi nuper in Scotia, et adhuc in Confœderatis Provinciis Belgii, ubi Germano-Belgæ; jam in toto orbe inter Catholicos soli sedent; utentes tamen hoc gestu non ut necessario, sed ut cæremonia quadam libera, &c.

stance of the sacrament, which may be used or not used as the Church thinks fit: for they condemn none that practise otherwise. And for the French Church, they are so far from thinking *sitting* necessary that they absolutely forbid it, and enjoin a contrary posture; as I shall prove when I come to speak particularly to that point. At present I only observe, that the significancy of ceremonies is no just exception against them, unless they signify something that is evil; in which case they ought to be rejected, as the Polish Churches reject sitting at the communion table for the reason I have mentioned. But if they signify nothing but what is good, and are useful helps to stir up our minds to piety and devotion; then their significancy is their commendation; and he that quarrels with them upon that account must declare himself an adversary to Calvin and all the French Church. As Mr. Baxter in effect does, when he sets himself formally to prove in a whole chapter[73] that the cross in baptism is made an human sacrament; 1. Because it is made an outward visible sign of grace. 2. Because it is an instituted means of conveying grace. 3. Because it is a covenanting sign. 4. And a symbol or badge of the order professed.

The main of this is a false charge, but so much of it as is true will equally hold against Calvin, and all the French Church. First, it is false that it is made any visible sign of grace. Secondly, it is as false that it is made a covenanting dedicating sign to God; for it is only a declarative sign to man, or a token that the person baptized is received into the Church, and is obliged by virtue of his baptism to live as a member of Christ. This being no more than what is common in all societies, to take in members by some solemn rite of admission, in token that they own themselves members of the society, as Dr. Stillingfleet[74] well explains it. Thirdly, it is false that it is made an instrument or means of conveying grace to men; unless he could prove that the Church pretends to apply the merits of Christ by it, as she does by the other sacraments. But as to its being a professing sign, or badge or symbol of our profession, signifying our admission into the Church of a

[73] Ch. 12. point 9. (p. 72.)

[74] Unreasonableness of Separation. (p. 350.) For why may not the Church appoint such a rite of admission, &c.?

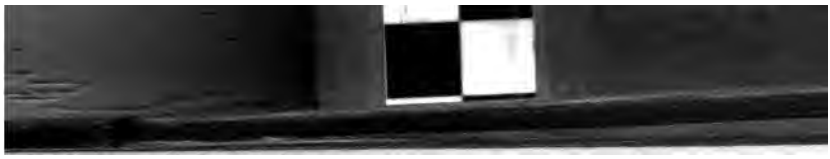
crucified Lord, and our resolution to continue steadfast in it; there is no more harm in that, than any other ceremony which signifies our present state and wills and intentions to abide in it. Standing up at the Creed must be a new sacrament, as well as the sign of the cross, if this were a true rule of judging what were sacraments.

But Mr. Baxter will have it that the cross is a sacrament, because the preface in the Common Prayer Book about ceremonies says, 'The Church only retains such ceremonies as serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and spiritual signification, (so he reads it instead of *special* signification,) whereby he may be edified.' Hence he infers[75], 'that the cross is a sacrament, because it signifies Christ crucified, with the benefits of his cross; and the grace of edification, by stirring up our dull minds by the moral causality of the cause, and binding us to constancy to Christ.'

But then all significant and edifying ceremonies must be new sacraments as well as the cross, especially if they be apt to stir up our dull minds to the remembrance of our duty to God, by any notable and special signification. And putting off the hat, and kneeling at prayers, which are ceremonies of the French Church, will be sacraments as well as any other. For I hope no one will deny but that they are special significations of our inward reverence and humility, and are apt to stir up our dull minds to the remembrance of those duties also. Then Calvin's rules will turn all ceremonies into sacraments, because he requires ceremonies to be 'incitements to that reverence which we owe to God, and to be exercises or instruments of piety, and lead us in the way to Christ; such as will create a reverence in our minds for holy things, and be proper helps to excite us to devotion, and admonish us with what modesty, religion, and observance we ought to handle sacred actions.' This in the Church's language is 'to stir up our dull minds by significant ceremonies;' but in Mr. Baxter's style it is 'to make new sacraments.'

As if nothing could put us in mind of our duty, but presently it must commence a sacrament; when as there is scarce any

[75] Ibid. (p. 74.)



thing in the world but may suggest to us some good thought in an ordinary way, and work upon us, as external objects do, or seasonable words and good admonitions; which yet it would be new divinity to term *sacraments*, though perhaps some of them might bid fairer for the name than the sign of the cross, or any other significant ceremonies of the Church, upon which Mr. Baxter fastens the imputation. Nothing can be a sacrament but what is instituted to convey supernatural grace in a supernatural way. Now let any man prove the Church appoints any ceremonies for this purpose, and I will own she deserves the charge of usurping God's authority: but if it cannot be shown that she appoints them to signify, or by their significancy to work, any other than common and ordinary effects upon our minds in an ordinary and natural way; such as external objects and decent circumstances of action, which may be helps to devotion, commonly do work; then men do ill to wound and terrify the consciences of the simple, by making them believe so false a charge against the Church; which tends not only to the prejudice of truth and peace here, but to the scandal of all the Churches of the Reformation, and more particularly the Church of France, whose principles and practice I have shown to be the same with those of the Church of England, and consequently as liable to the same accusation.

I have insisted a little the longer upon clearing and vindicating this point, because the charge that is brought against the Church is so very heavy, and urged with so much confidence by those that form it.

CHAP. VII.

That the French Church makes her rites and ceremonies as necessary as the Church of England does.

The next charge against our Church is, 'that she uses an exorbitant power in making indifferent rites and ceremonies become necessary; which is to alter their nature, and make new terms of communion and everlasting salvation.' To which I answer, that the charge is false in every part of it: the Church neither alters the nature of indifferent things, nor makes them properly *new terms* of communion, or terms of

salvation. First, she makes no alteration in the nature of indifferent things, but only restrains their use in the outward act, without laying any doctrinal necessity upon them, which is the only thing that can alter their nature. She does not say they are absolutely necessary and immutable in their own nature, nor impose them as necessary for all times and places, nor oblige any other Church besides her own members, nor her own members to take them for particular commands of God which no man can alter; but all she requires is, conformity in the outward act for the sake of peace, and union, and decency and order. This declaration is made by the Church herself in the Preface of the Common Prayer Book about ceremonies: 'Those ceremonies which remain were retained for a discipline and order, which upon just reasons may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law. And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use ceremonies, as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory.' This certainly is the true liberty of all Christian Churches, to appoint what indifferent ceremonies they think fit for their own members: but it is no part of Christian liberty for the particular members of any Church to contemn and slight the laws of their community, when made by the aforesaid rules, about indifferent things. For the things are still indifferent in their own nature, and yet they are bound to observe them. Nor is there any absurdity at all in this, to say that things are still indifferent and free in their own nature, though a necessity of outward obedience be laid upon us, unless the wisdom of all Churches be deceived. Le Blanc speaks in the name of all the French Church, when he says[76], 'that rites and ceremonies appointed by the Church are *observationes liberæ, matters of free observation;* yet so as that no one by his private authority may or ought to contemn or reject them.' They may be commanded then, and yet remain indifferent and free, according to the true notion of indifferency which he there gives: which is[77], 'that all things are indifferent and free which are not necessary either in their own nature or by divine institution.'

[76] See before, ch. 5.

[77] See before, ibid.

Now the ceremonies of our Church are thus indifferent and free, even after they are appointed: for they are neither said to be necessary in their own nature, nor by divine institution; but only necessary to be observed for order's sake. And when men have disputed never so long, this is the case of the French and all other Churches, that act and speak judiciously about indifferent things.

But 'the Church of England makes rites and ceremonies necessary terms of church-communion, and consequently necessary terms of everlasting salvation [78].' Here I ask again, does the Church make any of her particular rites so necessary to be observed by any doctrinal necessity, as to say, Except ye use these particular rites ye cannot be saved? Does she say, That if men be not signed with the cross in baptism, their baptism is not valid to make them members of Christ and heirs of salvation? That if they do not receive the eucharist kneeling, they cannot otherwise be partakers of Christ's body and blood? No; but she enjoins these ceremonies, and no one can ordinarily have the sacraments without them: and does that make them new terms of communion and salvation? If so, then the French Church and all Churches in the world, yea, Dissenters themselves, are guilty of making new terms of communion.

I will put a plain case in which I think all Churches are concerned. Suppose any man desires to be admitted to baptism or the communion in any Church; is it not necessary for him to comply with the particular orders of that Church, as to the time when and the place where those sacraments are to be administered? He must go to a church, and not to a river or a pond, to be baptized; and he must meet the assembly in a church, and not in an upper room; in the morning precisely at a stated hour, if he will hold communion with them. Now, suppose any man should be so weak, or so perverse, as to refuse communicating with the Church because she has appointed this particular time and place for administering the sacraments, (which are confessed to be indifferent circumstances in themselves,) and say, Christ appointed no such terms of communion, but left all times and places indifferent; and therefore he could not communicate with them, unless they left him

[78] English Nonconformity, ch. 14. point 11. (p. 77.)

at liberty to do it where and when he pleased. Would this be a just charge against the Church, and prove her guilty of adding other necessary terms of communion, because she determines these particular circumstances of time and place which are indifferent in their own nature? I suppose none but a delirious or a fanatical man will think so. And yet this is the charge brought against the Church of England for determining some indifferent circumstances relating to the administration of the sacraments: a charge that recoils back upon the head of those that make it, and wounds all Protestant Churches, and more particularly the French; as I shall have occasion more particularly to show when I come to treat of baptism and the communion of the Lord's supper; where I shall make it appear that they require several indifferent circumstances, rites, and ceremonies to be observed, and yet do not think themselves guilty of making new terms of communion. All I shall say further here is only to note in general the true notion of making new terms of communion; the want of attending to which seems to be the only ground of this objection.

Now a Church is guilty of making new terms of communion, when she requires any thing as a necessary condition which Christ has given her no authority to require. And this may be done, first, by requiring the belief of some new article of faith: or, secondly, some sinful practice, as conditions of communion: or, thirdly, by prescribing any rite as simply necessary in its own nature, which is indifferent, and condemning all others as sinful. For this indeed were to correct Christ's laws, and to alter the nature of indifferent things; which no Church has power to do. Nor, fourthly, may she impose her own ceremonies upon other Churches, and refuse to communicate with those that will not receive them. For all Churches are at liberty to prescribe rites for themselves; and if any Church undertakes to prescribe to others, she goes beyond her commission, and makes new terms of communion. But the case is different when a Church only prescribes rites and ceremonies for the members of her own communion; for then she does nothing but what Christ has given her authority to do; and therefore to determine of particular circumstances of time, place, habit, gesture, methods, forms, &c., for the sake of order

and decency, and peace and union, cannot be making new terms of communion, because she has a general commission from Christ to take care that all things be done decently and orderly, to the benefit and edification of the Church. Indeed, to speak properly, such determinations are so far from being new terms of communion, that in strictness they are no terms of communion at all; unless any one will call all orders and rules of church-government and discipline terms of communion; the consequence of which will be, that all Churches in the world, even the objectors themselves, are guilty of making new terms of communion; because they determine many particular circumstances, such as time, place, gesture, &c., in administering the sacraments, which Christ has left undetermined. And is the Church of England only guilty, when all other Churches do the same?

If it be said that the Church of England refuses to admit any to her communion who will not comply with her orders; I answer, first, that in all cases this is not true; for she admits many to her communion which do not in all things comply with her orders. Secondly, in many cases it is not the Church that refuses men her communion, but they that refuse themselves. For if men will not meet the Church at the time and place appointed for divine service, they can have no communion with her; but that is not the Church's fault, but their own, who refuse to comply with her necessary orders; which she makes not terms of communion, but only rules of discipline, to preserve unity and avoid confusion in her religious assemblies. Thirdly, in such cases where the Church thinks it expedient to deny her communion to those who refuse to obey her rules, as to those who refuse to be signed with the cross in baptism, or receive the communion kneeling, or from a minister who wears a surplice, or reads common-prayer, and the like; either it must be said that the Church has no power to make such rules; or, if she has power to make them, she has power to see them kept and observed by inflicting proper censures upon those that contemn them. And yet these rules are not, properly speaking, terms of communion. For as a judicious writer[79] well observes, 'There are two distinct reasons why a Church

[79] Dr. William Sherlock's Vindication of the Rights of Ecclesiastical Authority. (p. 115.) So that here are two distinct reasons, &c.

may deny her communion to any person; either because they renounce the terms of her communion, or because they refuse to submit to her laws and rules of worship: and therefore it is a ridiculous thing to say that a Church makes every thing a term of her communion, for the refusal of which she denies her communion to her own members. We may call these, if we please, the terms of her particular communion; but this is no greater fault for any Church to make such terms of communion, than to make laws for government and discipline; for such terms are nothing else.' They are but the same terms which are required in the French Church by many canons of her Book of Discipline and Synods; of which more hereafter in their proper place.

CHAP. VIII.

That the French Church does not think the imposition of an uniform observance of the same rites and ceremonies to be the cause of schism; nor does she abrogate or dispense with her laws because some are offended at them.

The last objection against the Church's privilege to appoint rites and ceremonies is made by those who are always haranguing about *the mischief of impositions*, which they say are the causes of schism and divisions in the Church; which might be cured if either the present laws about ceremonies were abrogated, or but so far dispensed with as to leave all ceremonies indifferent in their use to all such as have any scruples against them. What truth there is in this argument as it relates to the case of the Church of England, has been examined by others[80]: who have shown, 1. That some circumstances, indifferent in themselves, are necessary to be determined for the preservation of order in religious assemblies, such as time, place, &c., for there can be nothing but confusion without them. 2. That others are necessary to be determined upon the account of decency in God's worship; that no public scorn be put upon God under pretence of public worship. 3. That to leave all the externals of religion at liberty, is so

[80] [See Dr. William Sherlock's Discourse about Church Unity, in defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, ch. 2. s. 2. *Who* are the dividers? (pp. 44, seqq.) As for the second objection, that though some *external circumstances* are *necessary to public worship, &c.* Ed.]

far from being the cure of divisions, that it would be a greater cause of them. 4. That the opinion of dissenters, that indifferent things are unlawful in the worship of God, is no just and necessary reason for parting with them; because religion can never be stript so naked, but there will remain some indifferent rites and usages, which some men or other will condemn or scruple, as the Quakers do praying with their hats off, and appropriating churches to divine service, &c. 5. That it is of much greater consequence to common Christianity to deliver men from such superstitious conceits, as the imagining indifferent things to be sinful, and to maintain true Gospel liberty and freedom, than to receive such men into the Church by indulging their superstition. 6. That though parting with two or three indifferent ceremonies would be of no great consequence in order to cure a schism; yet to part with the doctrine of the lawfulness of indifferent things, and throw away all ceremonies upon that principle, would be to corrupt the Gospel, and to enslave the consciences of Christians. For which reasons the Church is not obliged, nor can consent, to part with all indifferent things that any men think fit to scruple; though she has power to alter rites and ceremonies, as prudence, charity, and expediency shall direct her.

Now all that I shall add to these considerations is, to show that they go upon the very principles and practice of the French Church.

1. For, first, she thinks it necessary to determine many indifferent circumstances and ceremonies in God's worship, partly for order's sake to avoid confusion, and partly to preserve the decency and dignity of God's external worship, that men may not affront him under pretence of honouring him. Upon this account she gives many rules about praying, and preaching, and administering the sacraments, &c. That all men shall pray kneeling and with their hats off; that baptism shall not be administered but in church-assemblies; that the communion shall be received standing, and that the minister shall deliver it singly into every man's hand, and use a certain form of words at the distribution of it to every individual; with many the like prescriptions in her Liturgy and Canons, but especially her Book of Discipline, which contains above two hundred canons, whereof no inconsiderable number are to regulate

matters in church-assemblies, and the public exercise of divine service.

2. She is so far from thinking that such impositions are the causes of schism and dissension, that she declares uniformity, and injunctions to bind men to it, to be the best preservers of union, and the surest way to avoid scandals and offences. As, on the contrary, to leave the externals of religion to every man's liberty, is the way to create factions and divisions, tumults and disorders, and to bring innumerable scandals and inconveniences into the Church. Upon this account, as I have proved before in the chapter about uniformity and subscription, she requires all her ministers to subscribe, and in some cases swear to observe all the rules prescribed in her Canons, Book of Discipline, and Liturgy; which surely is not to leave every man at liberty to practise as he pleases. I shall repeat none of these canons here, save only two or three, which more expressly deliver her judgment and opinion about the usefulness of uniformity, and expediency of injunctions in order to preserve union.

The Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, has this canon[81]: 'It being represented that the different courses taken in divers provinces, about the choice, examination, and ordination of ministers, brought with it a world of inconveniences, this synod judged it exceeding needful to establish an express canon, to be observed exactly, universally, and uniformly by all the provinces.'

So again[82]: 'That hereafter there may be a general uniformity in the churches of this kingdom in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and all scruples by reason of difference and singularity arising in weak but honest hearts, incapable of distinguishing between the substance and circumstance of the sacred action, may be prevented; all pastors are enjoined to abstain from any new or private methods of their own.' And that we may not think these *private methods*, which they condemn, were any other than such as only concerned the outward circumstances and rites of administration, the canon goes on to tell us what they were; viz. such as these; 'the reading the words of institution between the ordinary long

[81] Ch. 3. art. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 313. A. v. 1. p. 357.)

[82] Ch. 6. art. 14. (Q. ibid. p. 327. A. ibid. p. 375.)

prayer and that appointed particularly for this sacrament, which ought to be read after: the uncovering the bread and wine whilst they read the words of institution: the bringing the people up in companies unto the table there to sit or stand; whereas they should make them come up one by one unto it: the suffering the people to give the cup one to another, it being contrary to the express letter of a canon of our discipline, which ordereth pastors to deliver it.'

These are plain evidences that the French Church did not think it most advisable to leave all men to their own private methods in celebrating divine service, and administering the sacraments: they knew that if men were left to do as they would, they would have very different and singular ways; and that would raise scruples in the minds of weak people, and tempt them to think either that it was not the same action, or that one way was much better than another; the consequences of which must be doubtings and jealousies, if not sidings and factions, and following one teacher above another, with many such scandals and inconveniences that might attend it. To remedy all which, the Church knew no better method than to oblige all her ministers and people to a strict uniformity, that there might be no occasions of strife among them.

This was the ground of that famous oath, called *The Oath of Union*, which was drawn up in the Synod of Privas, 1612, and confirmed in the following Synods of Tonneins, Vitré, and Alez, and runs in this form [83]: 'We, ... knowing by past experience, that nothing is more necessary to preserve the peace and welfare of the Church than an holy union and concord, both in doctrine and discipline, and their dependencies, and that the Church cannot long subsist without it, ... have, in the name of all our churches, sworn and protested to remain inseparably united in that confession of faith, and keep inviolably that ecclesiastical discipline which is established in the reformed churches of this kingdom.'

That which I chiefly remark in this oath is the reason given for imposing it; to wit, *the preservation of union and concord in the Church;* to maintain which, they did not think it sufficient that they were all agreed in the same confession of faith, unless they kept inviolably to the observation of the same dis-

[83] [See before, b. 1. ch. 3. p. 16. nn. 29, 30, 31. Ed.]

cipline also; and therefore they entered upon a most strict oath to keep it uniformly, and see that all their churches walked by the same rule in the public exercise of divine service. I hope no one will say, this was to leave all indifferent circumstances, rites, and ceremonies to every man's liberty, to use or not use at his pleasure.

3. If any particular church or persons were aggrieved with these impositions and desired to be freed from them, either by altering the laws that enjoined them, or relaxing their force and leaving them to their liberty, their petitions were seldom granted; unless in some very weighty case that obliged them to change a law, or grant a general dispensation. It was a rule made in the Synod of Tonneins[84], 1614, 'That even national synods should not innovate any thing in the confession of faith, catechism, liturgy, and discipline of the Church, unless the matter had been first proposed by one or more provinces, and unless also it were a thing of very great importance.' I shall have occasion hereafter to show upon many particular heads how often they refused to make alterations, or so much as tolerate practices contrary to their rules of discipline, though often importunately solicited to do it; not only by single persons, but sometimes by whole churches. Mr. Diodati desired to have a new translation of the Bible brought into the Church, but his petition was rejected in the Synod of Alençon. The Church of Montauban desired leave to continue an old custom that had been among them; which was for elders to deliver the cup to the people in the sacrament; but they could not be heard in the Synod of Alez, because it was contrary to a rule of their discipline, and therefore their pastors were peremptorily commanded to conform to the established order. The Churches of Nismes and Montpellier made fresh instances for the same privilege in the Synods of Alençon and Charenton, but they had no answer save this, 'that they should conform themselves to the canon of their discipline, on pain of being prosecuted with all ecclesiastical censures.' And so in many the like cases.

4. If it be said this rigour was not used toward men that scrupled or doubted of the lawfulness of any part of their discipline, but only when they desired alterations or dispensa-

[84] Ch. 8. art. 8. (Q. v. 1. p. 410. A. v. 2. p. 24.)

tions upon some other reasons; I answer, that is not true; for their Book of Discipline supposes and provides against many such cases, and gives directions what is to be done with men that dissent, and stir up contention, and break the Church's union about any point of doctrine, or of discipline, or about the form of catechizing, or administration of the sacraments, or public prayers, or the celebration of marriage. And the rules they give for satisfying dissenters in these cases are, first [85], 'that the consistory of the place shall endeavour to remove their scruples with all meekness from the Word of God: but in case they do not rest satisfied with that, then their arguments are to be heard before a classis, after that before a provincial synod, and last of all before a national synod; unto which if they refuse to yield full obedience and in express terms disclaim their errors, they are to be cut off by excommunication from the body of the Church.'

It cannot be denied but that this canon speaks of dissenters, that have real scruples upon them, touching discipline and ceremonies: yet the method which the French Church orders to be taken with them is not to accuse herself of unjust impositions, and comply with their errors by a needless alteration of her own laws, or such indulgences as would breed greater disturbances and confusion; but to admonish and instruct them soberly out of the Word of God, time after time, till they utterly refused to hear her voice: in which case she would have them no longer treated as sons, but cast out of her communion as incorrigible offenders against the discipline of the Church.

They now who condemn the Church of England for not complying with dissenters, so far as to leave all things at liberty that any men scruple and think unlawful, and would have her reform by the example of the best Reformed Churches, would do well to consider whether the example they propound for her imitation do not rather exceed her in rigour and stiffness, as they call it, and teach her a more severe discipline instead of condescension. It appears from what I have discoursed, that there is no other power challenged or exercised by the Church of England, in this whole matter relating to rites and ceremonies, but what is as fully exercised in the French Church;

[85] Book of Discipline, ch. 5. art. 31. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 35.)

which is abundantly sufficient to justify, so far as I have undertaken to do, the Twentieth Article of our Church from the exceptions of Mr. Baxter and all others who have raised causeless clamours against it. I will now proceed to consider what is said against the remaining Articles.

CHAPTER IX.

An Answer to some Reflections made on the Twenty-first, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fifth Articles, by Mr. Baxter.

The Twenty-first Article of our Church is so entirely levelled against the Popish doctrines relating to the calling and infallibility of general councils, that one would wonder what any Protestant writer could find to except against it. The words of the Article are, 'General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred even in things pertaining unto God.'

Now Mr. Baxter says[86], 'Too many deny what is here said against gathering general councils without the will of princes; and that councils may err in things pertaining to God.' But who are these good men that have such scruples upon them? Mr. Baxter names none, but leaves his reader to guess, who will easily imagine that he can mean no other but Papists, since none but Papists deny either part of this Article. I should abuse my readers' patience should I go about to prove that the French writers are none of those who deny it: I shall only observe one thing; that by the same reason Mr. Baxter mentions this Article as excepted against by too many, he might have said the same of the next that follows, however he came to miss it. For the same persons that deny the Twenty-first Article deny also the Twenty-second, which says, 'The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.' It must be owned there are too many who deny this Article. But what then? Must the Church waive this Article too, in

[86] English Nonconformity, ch. 24. (p. 110.)

compliance with the scruples of those who deny it? No, Mr. Baxter himself does not think fit to say so. Then I think he ought not to have mentioned the Twenty-first Article upon that account; since the very same persons who defend the infallibility of general councils, defend the doctrines of purgatory, pardons, image-worship, &c.

He says next[87], the Twenty-third Article 'seems defective about calling ministers, to them that are for uninterrupted canonical succession.' He names none, but if he meant any true ministers of the Church of England, I dare say he was mistaken. For they who speak the most for uninterrupted succession never said this Article was defective, for they say uninterrupted succession is implied in the Article itself, which speaks of ordinary vocation in these terms: 'Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.' Now persons who have public authority to call others are such as have received that authority from others before, who had power to give it; and they again received that power from others so qualified before them; and so on, till the succession may be traced up even to the Apostles. And this is true in all ordinary and common vocations of ministers which the Article speaks of. As for extraordinary cases, and cases of absolute necessity, I know no one that insists upon uninterrupted succession in them; for such cases come not within the compass of ordinary rules, which are only made for common and ordinary cases. The French Confession in the Thirty-first Article[88], which speaks of the vocation of ministers, expressly puts in this caution, 'We believe that it is not lawful for any man of his own authority to take upon himself the government of the Church, but that every one ought to be admitted thereunto by a lawful election, if it may possibly be done, and that the Lord do so permit it. Which exception we have expressly added, because that sometimes, as it hath fallen out in our days, the state of the Church being interrupted, God hath raised up some persons in an extraordinary manner, for to repair the ruins of the decayed Church.' I dispute not

[87] Ibid. (p. 111.) [88] In Quick, as before. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 13.)

now whether this be true of Calvin and their first reformers, that they had such an extraordinary vocation from God; that perhaps would admit of some debate: but the thing I hence observe admits of none, viz. that they were wholly for uninterrupted succession, except in extraordinary cases[89]. And that is sufficient to justify both the sense I have given the Article of our Church, which I say implies an uninterrupted succession, and also those whom Mr. Baxter wrongfully charges with believing the Article to be defective.

The Twenty-fourth Article Mr. Baxter passes over, though I do not see why he might not as well have taken it in his way, and censured it among the rest; at least, with as good reason as he does the Twenty-first. For, though it be very true, 'that it is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people, yet there are too many who deny this; and that was Mr. Baxter's good reason against the Twenty-first Article which will hold every jot as well against this.

However the Twenty-fifth Article could not escape him. He says[90], 'some great churchmen think contrary to it, that confirmation is a Gospel sacrament.' He was too wise to name names, lest perhaps the persons might have justified themselves, and proved him a misrepresenter of their doctrine. But admit the charge were true, what is it to the Church or her Articles? 'Why then,' he says[91], 'it is evident that many subscribers are great nonconformists, and if they speak their mind are excommunicated *ipso facto*.' The inference from all which, if there be any sense or reason in what he said at first, must be, that they, who thus speak or write against the Arti-

[89] Calvin himself defends uninterrupted succession, as much as any man, in ordinary cases; as appears from his Letter to the King of Poland. (Oper. t. 9. p. 87.) Hic, fateor, optandum esset, ut valeret continua successio, ut functio ipsa quasi per manus traderetur..... Quia autem Papæ tyrannide abrupta fuit vera ordinationis series, novo subsidio nunc opus est ad ecclesiæ instaurationem.... Omnino extraordinarium fuit hoc munus quod Dominus nobis injunxit, dum opera nostra ad colligendas ecclesias usus est. Qui ergo ita præter spem hominum insolito modo repente apparuerunt sinceræ pietatis vindices, eorum vocatio a communi regula æstimari non debet.—See also his Letter to N. N. (ibid. p. 214.) Audemus aliud, &c.

[90] English Nonconformity, ch. 24. (p. 111.)

[91] Ibid. (p. 111.)

cles, may be good men for all that, and it is very rigorous in the Church to excommunicate them for it. The pretended rigour of this excommunication will be considered in another place, when I come to speak of the Canons of the Church: here I only observe what a character Mr. Baxter gives many of these *his good men*, who have scruples against the Articles, when he styles them 'subscribing nonconformists:' the English of which is, either that they subscribe against their conscience, or at least make no conscience to write against their subscription: neither of which are very commendable qualities in any men, and least of all in men of repute and character for their goodness. But be their goodness what it will in other respects, the Church has no reason to alter her doctrine for their scruples, any more than is done in the Church of France, whose doctrine I have proved to be the same with our Articles in every point that any of these good men scruple. And so I have done with Mr. Baxter's exceptions, which he professes to be made not in his own behalf, but in behalf of others.

CHAP. X.

Of some other objections against the Articles, made by other dissenters.

In the year 1660, there was a book written by divers Ministers of sundry Counties in England [92], entitled, 'Reasons showing the Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine, Worship, Rites and Ceremonies, Church-Government and Discipline,' in which several other objections are advanced against the Articles, under the first head *Of reforming the public Doctrine.*

They object against the Sixth Article [93], that it is defective, because it enumerates not all the Books of the New Testament, but only says 'All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account canonical;' and because in the same Article it is said, 'By *canonical books* we understand such of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church.' 'Now,' say they, 'it is well known that there have been doubts in the Church about the Epistle of James,

[92] [See the Index of Authors at the end of this volume under *Reasons, &c.* Ed.]

[93] Reasons, &c. (p. 6.)

the Second of Peter, and several other Books and passages in the New Testament. Therefore the Article is defective in not enumerating all the Books of the New Testament.'

Now the question is, whether the Article do not as plainly signify what Books of the New Testament are to be received as canonical as if it had particularly enumerated them: since, it says, 'All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account canonical.' Who is there so ignorant as not to know what Books of the New Testament are now commonly received in all the Churches of Europe, Popish as well as Protestant? Therefore there was no occasion to enumerate them, because there was no doubt made about them. 'Yes,' they say, 'there have been doubts in the Church about the Epistle of St. James, the Second of Peter, and several other Books and passages in the New Testament.' But this is either a great mistake or a great fallacy: for if they mean the Catholic Church, or the major part of it, it is a great mistake to say there ever were any such doubts in the Church: but if they mean particular men's opinions, then it is a fallacy put upon the reader to call such 'doubts in the Church;' for the Article denies not that some of these Books were doubted of by particular persons, but the meaning is, that they were never generally doubted of in the Catholic Church. And therefore it was sufficient to say, 'We receive them as they are commonly received, and ever have been received, without any doubt in the Catholic Church.'

If this were any real defect in the Article, or objection against it, the argument would be much stronger against the Confessions of most of the Reformed Churches, which neither enumerate the Books of the Old Testament nor the New, but only say they receive the canonical Scripture, or 'the writings of the Prophets and Apostles,' as it is in the Saxon Confession[94]. The Helvetic[95], Scotish[96], Bohemic[97], and that of Witten-

[94] Art. 1. (ap. Corp. Confess. part. 2. p. 72.) Affirmamus clare coram Deo et universa ecclesia in cœlo et in terra, nos vera fide amplecti omnia scripta Prophetarum et Apostolorum.

[95] Art. 1. (ibid. part. 1. p. 87.) Scriptura canonica, Verbum Dei, Spiritu Sancto tradita et per Prophetas Apostolosque mundo proposita, omnium perfectissima et antiquissima philosophia, pietatem omnem, omnem vitæ rationem, sola perfecte continet.

[96] Art. 18. (ibid. part 1. p. 150.) Doctrina enim, quæ in ecclesiis nostris docetur, Verbo Dei scripto continetur, videlicet in libris Veteris et

berg [98], which uses the very expression of our Article, to declare what Books of the Old Testament as well as the New are to be taken for canonical Scripture, without enumerating either the one or the other: 'By *the Holy Scripture* we understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority there never was any doubt in the Church.'

Yea, the French and Belgic Confessions, which are the only Confessions that particularly enumerate all the Books both of the Old and New Testament, do not enumerate the several passages of the New Testament, of which some have doubted: such as the last chapter of St. Mark, the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John, and that part of the twenty-second chapter of St. Luke which relates the history of our Saviour's bloody sweat. For though some particular persons doubted of these passages, yet the Church never did; and they are now commonly received for canonical and authentic. Upon which account the French Church [99] had no need to specify these particular places, but only to say they received the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, as they ever were and now are commonly received. And what justifies the Church of France justifies also the Church of England from this trifling objection.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Thirty-fifth Article and the Homilies.

Another of their attacks is upon the Thirty-fifth Article, which says, 'The Book of Homilies contains a godly and wholesome doctrine necessary for these times, and is therefore to be read in churches by the ministers diligently.' 'Now by this means,' they say, [1] 'men must subscribe false doctrines or

Novi Testamenti; de libris enim illis loquimur, qui a Veteribus canonici habiti fuerunt.

[97] Art. 1. (ibid. part. 2. p. 236.) Nostri omnes unanimi consensu docent, Scripturas sacras, quæ in Bibliis ipsis continentur et a Patribus receptæ auctoritateque canonica donatæ sunt, pro inconcusse veris certissimisque habendas.

[98] Art. 29. (ibid. part 1. p. 100. et p. 164.)

[99] Art. 4. (ibid. p. 100.) Hos libros agnoscimus esse canonicos, &c. —Conf. Confess. Belgic. art. 5. (ibid. p. 164.) Hos libros solos, &c.

[1] Reasons, &c. (p. 3.)

assertions, because there are some things false in the Homilies:' and they instance in two particulars.

1. In the Homily, Of the Time and Place of Prayer [2], part 2, it is said, 'that plurality of wives was by special prerogative suffered to the Fathers of the Old Testament, not for satisfying their carnal and fleshly lusts, but to have many children, because every one of them hoped and begged oft-times of God in their prayers, that that blessed seed which God promised should come into the world to break the Serpent's head, might come and be born of his stock and kindred.' Now this, they say [3], is 'false, because every one knew out of what tribe Christ was to issue.'

To which I answer, first, that supposing this were a mistake in the Homily, (as it is not, but only a mistake in the objectors,) yet it is not of that consequence as to hinder the Book of Homilies from being a book that 'contains a godly and wholesome doctrine, fit to be read in churches:' which is all that men subscribe, and not as the objectors say that we subscribe to false doctrines and false assertions: which is a false assertion in them. It is well known that Clement's Epistle, which has the story of the phœnix in it, was anciently read in many churches. So was also Hermes Pastor, and the Homilies of Ephrem Syrus, and several other Fathers which perhaps had as great mistakes in them. And what comes nearer to my purpose, Beza [4] tells us that Calvin's Homilies upon Job were read both publicly and privately with great benefit, in many parts of the French Church, where they supplied the place of pastors when pastors were wanting.

And Hottinger [5] says the same of Bullinger's Decads of

[2] Note. That the words which the objectors allege are not in the Homily, *Of the time and place of Prayer*, but in the first part of the Homily intituled, *An Information for them which take offence at certain places in Holy Scripture.*

[3] Reasons, &c. (p. 4.)

[4] Præfat. in Concion. Calvin. in Libr. Job. (Oper. t. 2. p. præf.) Edita sunt igitur jam pridem Gallice istæ conciones non ipsius certe Calvini voluntate, qui illas sibi velut extorqueri testabatur, sed collegarum ipsius judicio, et eorum, qui loquentem illum audierant, efflagitatione. Neque vero id temere factum fuisse, res ipsa mox ostendit, maximo cum remotissimarum etiam Gallicarum ecclesiarum fructu, quibus usque adeo privatim et publice placuerunt, ut plurimis in locis, quibus quotidiani pastores deerant, conciones istæ in commnni cœtu ex pulpito recitatæ, pastorum vice fuerint, &c.

[5] Hist. Eccles. Sæc. 16. part. 4. (Tigur. 1667. p. 960.) Est in Belgii reformati orthodoxis ecclesiis Bul-

Sermons, 'that in Holland and the rest of the Belgic Churches they were ordered by public authority, from the beginning of the Reformation, to be read in such places as wanted ministers to preach to them.'

Now it is great odds but that in two such large volumes as Bullinger's Decads, and Calvin's Homilies upon Job, some nice critics, if they would set about it, might find as great faults as our objectors suppose this to be which they mention. But what then? Must the Churches of France and Belgium be said to subscribe to the truth of every title contained in those two books, mistakes and all, because they think them to contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, fit to be authorized publicly to be read in their congregations? No, certainly. Beza himself was not so great an admirer of Calvin as to think that all his Sermons and Comments were without their failings. He expressly owns the contrary in one of his Epistles[6], where yet he defends his Catechism as free from faults against the exceptions of one Adrian, a Dutchman.

And this were a sufficient answer to our objectors, supposing the passage in the Homily they quote to be a real mistake.

But, secondly, after all, the mistake is only in themselves, and not in the Homily. For the Homily does not speak of such Fathers as might know that the promised seed was to issue out of the tribe of Judah; but of Abraham and Jacob, who lived long before Judah was born, or the promise confined to that tribe: which was not till Jacob's death at least, who then first made mention of the Shiloh's coming out of the tribe of Judah. And this our objectors could not be ignorant of; but if they had dealt fairly with the Homily and their readers, they had spoiled their own objection. For though the Fathers of other tribes could not pray that the Promised Seed might come of their stock and kindred, after the promise was clearly

lingeri nomen et gratum et celebre cum ob libros ipsius alios, tum ob eum maxime, cui titulum fecit Decades, (Belgæ vocant Huysboeck,) *Qui liber ab initio Reformationis semper in Belgio, quam ullus alius, exceptis Bibliis, lectus et ecclesiis, ut in cœtibus, in quibus propter ministri defectum viva vox audiri non poterit, legeretur, publice commendatus fuit.*

[6] Ep. 4. (p. 41.) Quis enim unquam ex nostris, vel D. Calvini vel cujuscunque alterius scripta verba Dei exæquavit? Quis D. Calvinum pro Deo aut angelo habuit? Quis denique eo adigendum quenquam putavit, ut in locorum Scripturæ interpretatione a D. Calvini sententia non discederet?

understood to be confined to the tribe of Judah; yet Abraham and Jacob might pray for this, as doubtless they did; and that is all the Homily asserts, as any one will be satisfied that consults it.

2. Their other objection is against a passage in the Second Part of the Homily of Alms, where are these words: 'The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach, in sundry places of the Scripture, saying, *Mercifulness and almsgiving purgeth from all sins, and delivereth from death, and suffereth not the soul to come into darkness. A great confidence may they have before the High God, that show mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted.*' Now over-against these words in the margin is cited Tobit 4. Whence our objectors conclude[7], that the Homily stands chargeable with these two grosss errors: 1. That the book of Tobit is to be taken for Holy Scripture. 2. That it was indited by the Holy Ghost.

To which I answer, first, that there is no necessity of either of these charges. For though Tobit be cited in the margin, yet the first text alleged is not to be found in Tobit[8], but in the canonical Book of Proverbs, (16, 6.) "By mercy and truth iniquity is purged." And the next expression, "Mercifulness delivereth from death," may as well be ascribed to Solomon also, (Prov. 10, 2. and 11, 4.) where he says, "Righteousness delivereth from death;" that is, *mercifulness*, as the original[9] signifies, and as it is sometimes translated.

[7] Reasons, &c. (p. 4.)

[8] [This statement is not exactly correct: for although the passage is not found word for word in the fourth chapter of Tobit, it is evident that the author of the Homily had in view the passage about alms, which does occur in that part of the Apocrypha: (Tobit 4, 7—11.) Give alms of thy substance; and when thou givest alms, let not thine eye be envious, neither turn thy face from any poor, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee. If thou hast abundance, give alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little: for thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity. *Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness. For alms is a good gift unto all that give it in the sight of the Most High.*

[9] צְדָקָה, *Justitia.* Apud Rabbinos etiam est *eleemosyna*, quæ ex justitia et benignitate proficiscitur, et ex qua justi cognoscuntur.... The Hebrew Rabbins and the Jews at this day call alms *tsedakah*, *righteousness*, not only because they ought to be of goods rightly got, but also because it is but just and right that they should be given; Prov. 3, 27. *Righteousness*, in a special sense in the Hebrew and the rest of the Oriental tongues, signifieth *beneficence*, or *bounty*, both the virtue and the work, and therefore by the Hellenists or Septuagint it is translated

Since, therefore, the principal part of these texts are to be found in the canonical Scripture, it is reasonable to believe the Homily refers to them in that expression, "The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture." And though Tobit and Ecclesiasticus[10] be cited in the margin at the same time, that does not prove them to be canonical Scripture, indited by the Holy Ghost.

But, secondly, suppose the Homily had said this in express terms; yet the same candour and favourable construction, which is commonly allowed by all Protestant writers to the primitive Fathers, will take off the seeming harshness and solecism of this expression. For though the Fathers had generally the same opinion of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books that we have, yet many of them in their free and popular discourses cite the Apocryphal Books under the title of *Holy Scripture*, and *canonical writings, inspired by the Holy Ghost.* And yet we do not think fit to condemn them, or yield up their testimonies to the Papists, but expound them to an allowable sense by a soft and favourable interpretation. Thus Chamier observes, that Athanasius, in his book *De Virginitate*, cites Ecclesiasticus under the title of Θεία Γραφὴ, *Divine Scripture;* and Hilary on the 135th Psalm calls the author of the Book of Wisdom by the name of *Prophet: Id docet Propheta:* yet he will not allow that these Fathers believed these books to be strictly canonical and inspired writings, because the same Fathers elsewhere call them apocryphal. Therefore he says[11], 'Though they cited them sometimes *cum præfatione honoris, with such honourable titles*, yet it does not follow that those books are canonical, though the Fathers allege them under the name of

ἐλεημοσύνη, the word so frequent in the New Testament, for that we call *alms;* Dan. 4, 27. Matth. 6, 1.' See Leigh's Critica Sacra, Lond. 1650, Part. 1. p. 202.—In the former place cited by Leigh, *Break off thy sins by righteousness*, the Septuagint reads τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, and in the latter, *Take heed that ye do not your alms before men*, the Greek Testament has Προσέχετε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

[10] Ch. 29. vv. 12, 13. See also ch. 3, 30: Water will quench a flaming fire, and alms maketh an atonement for sins. ED.]

[11] Panstrat. De Canone, l. 4. c. 4. n. 5. (t. 1. p. 100 b.) Illud igitur est verius putasse Patres, licere sibi etiam ab Apocryphis sumere testimonium veritatis: et quidem cum præfatione honoris; non ad vivum tamen exacta auctoritate: ideoque non sequi, esse eos libros canonicos, qui *nomine Scripturæ Sanctæ ac Spiritus* citantur a Patribus.

Holy Scripture and the Holy Ghost, because they did not then stand to examine their authority to the quick.'

And so Rivet in like manner apologizes for them against Baily the Jesuit. 'We do not deny,' says he [12], 'that many of the Ancients before St. Jerom's time, or thereabouts, did sometimes cite the controverted books as sacred and divine Scriptures, and commended them as prophetical writings. Thus St. Ambrose calls the book of Tobit *Scriptura Prophetica, Prophetical Scripture.* Lib. de Tobia, c. 1. Clemens Alexandrinus calls Baruch *Divine Scripture.* Pædag. l. 2. c. 3. And Theodoret in his Exposition of Baruch does the same. Cyprian terms the History of Susannah *Divine. Lib. de Lapsis.* And St. Ambrose does the like, *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 7. Cyprian cites the Book of Wisdom by the title of *Divine Scripture, De*

[12] Catholicus Orthodoxus, tract. 1. quæst. 13. num. 7. (t. 3. p. 87.) Nec tamen negamus, quosdam ex Veteribus, qui vixerunt ante Hieronymum aut eodem tempore, controversos libros aliquando citasse ut Scripturas sacras et divinas, immo commendasse tanquam propheticas. .... Sic Tobiæ liber Calixto Papæ, (Ep. 2.) *Scriptura Sacra* habetur; Ambrosio, (Lib. de Tobia, c. 1.) *Prophetica;* Liber Baruch Clementi Alexandrino, (Pædagog. l. 2. c. 3.) et Theodoreto, (in Exposit. Bar.) *Scriptura Divina;* Cypriano, (Serm. 1. de Lapsis,) Historia Susannæ *divina.* Item Ambrosio, (de Sp. S. c. 7.) Sapientiæ librum Cyprianus, (de Habitu Virg.) Ecclesiasticum Cyrillus, (l. 2. in Julian.) *Divinam Scripturam* appellant. Sed inde non sequi, quod volunt [pontificii], Bellarminus (l. 1. de Verb. Dei, c. 20.) ipse satis ostendit, cum negat Hermæ seu Hermetis librum esse canonicum, etsi *divinitus inspiratum* putaverit Origenes, (Lib. 10. in Epist. ad Roman.) et ex eodem testimonia proferant, tanquam ex Scriptura Sacra, Tertullianus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athanasius, Cassianus, &c. Neque librum 4. Esdræ inter canonicos recipit, etsi non solum citet eum, Ambrosius, (Lib. de Bono Mortis,) sed etiam Esdram esse ejus auctorem asserat, et testimonium, ex eo desumptum, *Scripturam* absolute appellet, quin immo addat secundum collatam in se revelationem loquutum. Idem Bellarminus, *Licet,* inquit, *canones Conciliorum et Pontificum distinguantur et postponantur Scripturæ Divinæ, tamen suo modo sunt et dici possunt 'Scriptura Sacra et Canonica,' quomodo* 7. *Synodus Act.* 3. *vocat decreta Conciliorum, 'divinitus inspiratas constitutiones.' Immo Innocentius* (*cap. Cum Marthæ. Extra. de Celebr. Miss.*) *vocat 'Scripturam Sacram' sententiam illam Augustini ex Serm.* 17. *de Verbo Apostoli, 'Injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre.'* Idem nos dicimus de libris ecclesiasticis, suo modo *ἐν πλάτει* dictos fuisse a nonnullis Patribus *sacros* et *divinos,* nempe cum non accurate loquerentur, sed populariter; idque cum extra hujus quæstionis de discrimine sacrorum librorum orbem versarentur; ipsisque cum adversariis res esset, qui non refragabantur. Quo pacto etiam nos inde arcessimus testimonia, quæ *γνησίως* canonicis succenturiata rem aliquando possunt illustrare: nec imus inficias, etsi libri illi canonicam auctoritatem non possint assequi apud eos, qui recte judicant, majorem esse nihilo minus eorum auctoritatem, quam aliorum quorumvis *ἀκανονίστων,* ad quorum differentiam comparate a nonnullis, significatione vocum minus exquisita, *sacri* et *divini* dicti sunt.

Habitu Virginum. And Cyril of Alexandria follows him therein, Lib. 2. cont. Julian. Yet it does not hence follow that they believed these books to be strictly canonical Scripture. We answer as Bellarmin does about the canons of the Councils and Popes, when he says, 'though they be distinguished from, and postponed to the Divine Scripture, yet they are and may be called *suo modo, in their own way, sacred and canonical writing*, as the seventh General Council calls the decrees of Councils *divinely inspired constitutions.* And Pope Innocent III. cites a saying of St. Austin's out of his seventeenth Homily, *De Verbis Apostoli*, under the title of *Holy Scripture.* So we say of these apocryphal books, that some of the Fathers call them at large, and after some sort, *sacred and divine*, when they speak not accurately, but popularly, and to such with whom they had no controversy about them. As we ourselves sometimes cite them to illustrate things contained in the canonical Scripture. Nor do we deny but that though these books cannot be esteemed truly canonical, yet they are of greater authority than any other uncanonical writings; to distinguish them from which they are comparatively by some in a less accurate signification termed *sacred and divine.*' Thus far Rivet in his answer to the Jesuit's objection.

Now use but the same candour and distinction for this expression in the Homilies as these learned Frenchmen do for the primitive Fathers, and our objector's argument will vanish into nothing. For at worst it is but an inaccurate expression in a popular discourse, and may be allowed as well as those sayings of the primitive Fathers; whom we do not presently damn as heterodox and absurd, but allow them the justice of a fair and reasonable interpretation.

Chamier makes the same apology for those Fathers who say the translation of the Septuagint was made by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 'I answer,' says he [13], 'that all the faith-

[13] Panstrat. De Canone, l. 13. c. 4. n. 4. (t. 1. p. 462 e.) Respondeo, Spiritu Sancto inspirari omnes fideles, quoties aliquid agunt boni: unde dicuntur *θεοδίδακτοι*.... Sed ejus afflatus varii sunt gradus, inter quos primus et summus ille est, quo sic moventur homines ut immediate et extra ordinem illuminentur, sicut olim Prophetis accidit et Apostolis, quos extra omnem comparationis aleam doctores habemus a Deo constitutos. Post hos maxima est *τῶν χαρισμάτων διαφορὰ*, donorum Dei, et, ut Apostolus loquitur, *spirituum differentia;* ut hi plus, illi quidem minus, de infinita abundantia acceperint: nemo tamen ita, ut accedat

ful are inspired by the Holy Ghost whenever they do any good thing. Whence they are said to be "taught of God," and to have "the Spirit of God dwelling in them." But there are different degrees of this inspiration, the highest of which is when men are so moved as to be immediately and extraordinarily illuminated, as the Prophets and Apostles were. After whom there is great diversity of spiritual gifts; some receive more, some less of that infinite abundance, but none come up to those of the first rank, though all may be said to be moved by the Holy Ghost. As Gaudentius said of St. Ambrose, *He will speak by the Holy Ghost, with which he is filled, and out of his belly will flow rivers of living water.* In this lower sense he allows the authors of the Septuagint to be inspired; but then he says it does not follow that their translation was properly divine and authentic. And those Fathers which said it was done by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost must be understood of this inferior and ordinary sort of inspiration.

The same we say of the authors of the Homilies, that supposing they had quoted Tobit and Ecclesiasticus as inspired writings, they must of necessity be understood of this lower and ordinary kind of inspiration. In the same sense as Calvin says of himself, 'that he doubted not but that he had the assistance of God in writing his Catechism [14].' And as the Synod of Tonneins, 1614, told King James in their Letter to him [15], 'that they received with all reverence and submission his good and wholesome counsels, as flowing from the Holy Spirit of God.'

I suppose no one will think that either Calvin took himself to be inspired, or that the Frenchmen at Tonneins had such a veneration for King James as to take his counsels for divine oracles. Yet they might say truly that his counsels flowed from the Holy Spirit of God, in the common and ordinary way of divine assistance; reserving it still as the peculiar privilege of Prophets and Apostles to be extraordinarily and infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost.

ad illos primos. Et quamvis longe ab iis absint, nihilo minus a Spiritu Sancto agi dicuntur.

[14] Ep. ad N. (Oper. t. 9. p. 263.) Tandem veni ad Catechismum, in quo scribendo Dominum mihi affuisse confido.

[15] Ep. ad Jacob. Reg. (Quick, v. 1. p. 438. Aymon, v. 2. p. 63.)

CHAP. XII.

Of the objections made against the Sixteenth, Twentieth, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-seventh Articles, by the aforesaid authors.

The same authors express themselves much aggrieved at a declaration put forth by King Charles the First, and prefixed to the Book of Articles, wherein among other things it is ordered, 'That no man shall either print or preach, to draw any Article aside any way, nor put his own sense or comment upon it, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense of it.' 'Now by this means,' they say [16], 'all ministers are deprived of the liberty of interpreting any one of the Articles. So that whereas it is said in the Sixteenth Article, *Not every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is the sin against the Holy Ghost;* no minister may dare to open the nature of deadly sin, nor say that all sins are deadly, contrary to the Popish distinction of sins into mortal and venial; nor explain what is meant by *falling from grace.* So again, whereas it is said in the Twentieth Article, *The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;* ministers may not inquire what is meant by *the Church,* whether the Catholic Church, or Church of England? nor what the Church of England is? what rites or ceremonies it may ordain? or how far her authority extends in controversies of faith? And if she happen to ordain aught contrary to God's Word, or expound one place of Scripture repugnant to another, or enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation that is beside the Word, no man may question it: but we must assent and subscribe to it in the literal and grammatical sense of it, or be deprived of all ecclesiastical promotions.'

'And whereas the Thirty-fourth Article treats of the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, ordained by common authority, &c., we must not curiously inquire what is meant by *traditions?* whether the traditions of the Church of Rome, or any other Church? whether traditions be distinct from ceremonies, or the same with them? how a tradition may be said to be *ordained?* or what is meant by *common authority?*

[16] Reasons, &c. (p. 3.)

Thus far the objectors in their plea for reformation of doctrine [17]. To which I answer:

1. That *the literal and grammatical sense* is the sense in which all Churches commonly desire their Articles to be understood; and to understand them in any other sense is either to force unnatural interpretations upon plain words, or make nonsense of them. It is a known controversy betwixt Protestants and Papists concerning the literal and mystical sense of Scripture; where the question is not, Whether the Scripture be ordinarily to be taken in a literal sense, and sometimes in a mystical? for in this both sides are agreed; as any one that pleases may satisfy himself by consulting any of the following authors. Chamier, *De Sensu Scripturæ* [18], says, 'We acknowledge both a mystical and literal sense in Scripture.' So Whitaker, *De Scripturæ Interpretatione* [19], 'We affirm there is one true, proper, genuine sense of Scripture, arising from the words rightly understood, which we call *literal*, &c.' Rivet speaks often to the same purpose in his controversial writings [20].

Therefore the objectors were very weak to quarrel with the king's declaration, for ordering men *to take the Articles in their literal and grammatical sense*, which is the only sense in which they can be rationally understood by the unanimous judgment of all Protestant writers.

2. Their several inferences from thence are altogether as absurd;—'that therefore ministers may not explain those passages in the several Articles they mention, because they must only take them in their literal and grammatical sense.' They might as well have said, with the very same truth and modesty, that Protestant Churches forbid their ministers to explain any passage of Scripture, or write any comments upon it, because they say the Scripture is to be understood in its literal and

[17] Reasons, &c. (p. 3.)

[18] Panstrat. l. 15. c. 1. n. 14. (t. 1. p. 534 c.)... Nos Scholasticis suam λειτολογίαν libenter relinquimus, et sensum literalem et mysticum agnoscimus.

[19] Quæst. 5. c. 2. (Oper. t. 1. p. 346. col. sinistr.) Affirmamus enim unicum esse verum, proprium ac genuinum Scripturæ sensum, ex verbis vere intellectis orientem, quem literalem dicimus, &c.

[20] Isagog. in Script. c. 14. (t. 2. pp. 929, seqq.) *De Sacrarum Scripturarum interpretatione exegetica et earundem sensu literali.* — Cathol. Orthod. tract. 1. quæst. 7. n. 2. (t. 3. pp. 45.) Fatemur quidem, Divinam Scripturam, veritatem Dei, in sensu et medulla consistere, &c.... Alias, Scripturarum sensus est in verbis, et in litera quatenus significat, qua sublata nulla erit Scriptura nedum aliquis Scripturæ sensus.

grammatical sense; when yet that means no more than this, that words are to be taken in their true, proper, genuine sense, as they may reasonably be supposed to be taken by the author that makes use of them; which is so far from hindering any man from explaining them, that it is the most certain rule and guide to direct us how to examine them right, according to the true sense and meaning of the author. So much were our objectors mistaken, both in their premises and in their conclusion.

Their objection against the Thirty-seventh Article is a very trifle. They cannot consent to read it as it is now printed, and to be taken in the literal sense, because it says[21], 'The Queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, &c.' For now they think it should be *the King's majesty*, since Queen Elizabeth is dead.

But why did not such men's scruples lead them as well to complain of subscribing the Bible, and to require some alterations to be made in it? For there are many such expressions as this in the Scripture itself. Thus, Gen. 35, 20, "That is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day," must not be taken in the literal sense; because, though it was in being when Moses wrote, yet now it is no where to be found. Gen. 47, 26, "Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part of the land, &c." But if we take the words in the rigour our objectors do, neither Pharaoh nor the law are at this day in being: but they were when Moses wrote it. And so was Queen Elizabeth when the Article was made; and that is enough to justify the expression, as appears from those instances I have given out of Scripture, and a thousand others that might be produced of the like nature.

And yet if this had been an insuperable scruple with the objectors to hinder them from reading the Articles or subscribing them, they might have found some copies, for the ease of their consciences, where this alteration is made. For the editions of Mr. Roger's Exposition read it[22], 'The King's

[21] Reasons, &c. (p. 4.)

[22] Cambridge, 1681. (p. 215.) See also the following pages. [It has been customary for many years past to vary the words, as may be seen by comparing editions of the Prayer Book printed before and since her present Majesty ascended the throne.

majesty hath the chief power, &c.;' though by what authority he made that alteration I know not, nor shall I here stand to inquire.

CHAP. XIII.

That the Thirty-nine Articles are as complete as the French Confession.

There is one objection more made by the same authors, which concerns the Articles in general; that is, 'That they are defective, because there are sundry points of Popery not condemned in them; and because they contain nothing of the creation, of providence, of the fall of man, of sin, of the punishment of sin, of God's covenants, of effectual calling, adoption, sanctification, faith, repentance, perseverance, the law of God, Christian liberty, and liberty of conscience, religious worship, the Sabbath or Lord's-day, marriage and divorce, the communion of saints, church-government and discipline, resurrection and the last judgment. All which the Scripture teacheth as necessary, as appears by the comprising most of them in the Apostles' Creed, &c.'

But, first, is it not a wonder to hear men contradict themselves so grossly in the very same paragraph? They own most of these points are comprised in the Apostles' Creed, and at the same time say our Articles contain nothing of them; when yet the Articles expressly declare, that 'the Apostles' Creed is thoroughly to be received and believed.'

Secondly, they are no more defective than the Articles of the French Confession are, which exceed them but one in number, and say as little upon many of those points as our Articles do: and yet no French Protestant ever accused them for being defective.

Thirdly, the French writers own our Articles to be a complete profession of the pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel. That is the very character which Beza gives them in his Epistle Dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth before his New Testament [23].

Mr. Le Moyne was so far from thinking them defective, that

For example, see the Article as it stands in the Oxford editions of 1831 and 1853 respectively. Ed.]

[23] See afterwards, b. 3, ch. 2, n. 40, following.

he says, 'No confession can be contrived more wisely than the English is,' and 'that the Articles of Faith were never collected with a more just and reasonable discretion [24].'

If this be true, dissenters have no reason to quarrel with our Articles, upon one account or other. Mr. Baxter may complain that they are redundant; and these gentlemen that they are defective: but wise men will conclude that they are both in the wrong, and that the Church has observed a decent moderation. A learned person [25] has long ago proved against these later objectors, that there is no necessity of reforming the doctrine of our Church, in a discourse entitled, *No necessity of Reforming, &c.*, whither I refer the reader, who values learning and antiquity, for fuller satisfaction. I content myself with having shown what I here proposed, that the doctrine of our Church, in all the controverted Articles, is exactly agreeable to the doctrine of the French Church; and that they who object against or separate from the one upon the account of her doctrine must by the same reason be obliged to withdraw their communion from the other also.

[24] See his Letter cited before in the first chapter of this Book. See n. 6, preceding.

[25] The author is said to be Bishop Pearson. [No Necessity of Reformation of the Publick Doctrine of the Church of England. By John Pearson, D.D. London. Printed by J. G. for Nathaniel Brook at the Angel in Cornhill, 1660. Ed.]

BOOK III.

THE OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONSIDERED, AND ANSWERED UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

That the French Church hath a public Liturgy or Form of Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, which all ministers are obliged to use in their daily service.

THE French Liturgy is so often mentioned in many parts of their Book of Discipline and Canons, already cited in this discourse, that I think it needless to offer any further proofs that they have an established liturgy among them. But there is one thing which it will not be amiss to evidence and confirm a little further, which is, that they require all ministers to use it constantly, and in no wise to vary or deviate from it. Calvin gave this advice to the heads of the English Reformation in King Edward's days, and we need not doubt but he took care to put it in practice in his own country. 'As to what concerns a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites,' says he [1], 'I highly approve of it, that there be a certain form from which the ministers be not allowed to vary. That, first, some provision may be made to help the simplicity and unskilfulness of some.

[1] Ep. ad Protector. Angl. (Oper. t. 9. p. 41.) Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum, valde probo, ut certa illa exstet, a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat, tam ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ, quam ut certius ita constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus. Postremo etiam, ut obviam eatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant, uti eo pertinere catechismum ipsum ante ostendi. Sic igitur statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum formulam.

Secondly, that the consent and harmony of the Churches one with another may appear. And, lastly, that the capricious giddiness and levity of such as affect innovations may be prevented. To which end I have shown that a catechism will be very useful. Therefore there ought to be a stated catechism, a stated form of prayer, and administration of the sacraments.'

If we had no clearer light or evidence concerning the practice of the French Church in this matter, this were a strong presumption what it must be, considering how great an hand Calvin had in its reformation. But we have most certain and undeniable evidences in the case. Their Book of Discipline in one canon determines the controversy beyond all dispute, where it says [2], 'If any pastor break the Church's union, or stir up contention about any point of doctrine, or discipline, or about the form of catechizing, or administration of the sacraments, or of our common prayers, and celebration of marriage, and conform not to the determination of the classis, he shall then be suspended from his office, and be further prosecuted by the provincial or national synod.' Here we see conformity to the Liturgy, and all its parts, as well as to the Confession of Faith and Discipline, is made necessary to the Church's union. And this is demonstrable of every particular office contained in it.

First, for their ordinary public prayers they covenant, as much as we do, to use their prescribed form and no other. Nor do they ever pretend to deviate from this rule in their ordinary service, but only allow of extraordinary prayers in some cases, and upon some particular occasions, such as the minister's prayer before sermon, and prayers composed for solemn fasts and thanksgivings. He that pleases may see this fully proved by that learned Frenchman, Ludovicus Capellus, in a long discourse about Set Forms of Prayer [3], where he shows, 'that their Liturgy is not a mere directory, but a precise form to be used in all the offices it appoints by all the

[2] Ch. 5. art. 32. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 36.)

[3] Apud Theses Salmurienses, part. 3. disput. 47. De Liturgia. (pp. 656, seqq.) *De Liturgia, an certis et conceptis verbis fieri debeat.*—See afterwards, ch. 2. p. 110. n. 45.

ministers of the kingdom;' and he answers all objections brought against it.

So that Mr. Baxter's *three arguments* against the subscription required of ministers in the thirty-sixth Canon, which is, 'that they will use in public prayer the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and no other,' are altogether as strong against the French Church.

1. First he says[4], 'the bishops themselves, by the king's order, do upon special occasions of fasts and thanksgivings prescribe, impose, and use other forms: and we must not covenant to disobey them.

2. The public ministers have and do in the pulpits before sermons use other forms; and so break this covenant themselves.

3. It belongs to the office of a pastor to word his own prayers, as well as his own sermons: and it is sinful to renounce so much of the work of the office, which we are vowed and ordained to.'

Then, first, I say the French Church is guilty of perjury, and breach of vow also: for they use particular forms prescribed upon special occasions of fasts and thanksgivings, besides their ordinary form of prayer. Calvin here will be our witness, who tells us in one of his Epistles[5], 'that in the year 1541, when Germany was infested both with war and pestilence, he prevailed with the magistrates of Geneva to appoint a solemn day of extraordinary supplications for them, and that he himself composed the prayers that were to be used on that occasion.' And there is such a form now annexed to his Liturgy[6].

The French Canons often mention such solemn days of fasting and extraordinary supplications, in which they used some new prayers besides their ordinary service. And yet they never thought themselves guilty of perjury or breach of covenant, because these were cases which in the covenant itself were presumed to be excepted.

[4] English Nonconformity, ch. 8. points 4 and 5. (p. 43.)

[5] Ep. ad N. (Oper. t. 9. p. 263.) Quoniam pestis in Germania sæviebat, et altera ex parte bellum, feci ut supplicationes extraordinariæ decernerentur. Præcationes, quibus in iis uteremur, conscripsi.

[6] Eccles. Form. Prec. (Oper. t. 8. p. 31.) Deus Omnipotens, &c.

Secondly, they use other forms of prayer in the pulpit before their sermons, as the ministers in England do. Dr. Bernard, who put forth the book called *Bishop Usher's Judgment, &c.*, says [7], 'both the Dutch and French Churches are so strict in this matter, as to keep always to the same form.' The Geneva Liturgy allows every minister to choose what form he thinks most convenient for his purpose. *Precationis formulam ad id aptam minister sibi pro arbitrio deligit* [8].

Thus the Synod of St. Maixant allows the minister that ordains another to use a prayer of his own composing, till he comes to the prayer of consecration, and then he must use the form which they prescribe, and no other. See this cited a little after in this same chapter [9].

Any one that will turn over any volume of Calvin's Sermons will find at the end of every Homily a short prayer of his own, about the length of one of our collects, suited to the matter or subject of his discourse, which he constantly used, besides the long prayer prescribed in the Liturgy to be used after sermon.

3. The French Church did not think it belonged so absolutely to the office of a pastor 'to word his own prayers;' no, nor yet 'his own sermons,' as Mr. Baxter says it does, who therein condemns himself; who, in 1661, presented a new Liturgy [10] to the bishops, which words the pastors' prayers for them as much as the old Liturgy does. And I cannot think whom Mr. Baxter intended to serve by making this objection, unless those who reject the use of all set forms in general as simply unlawful. For if it belong to the office of a minister 'to word his own prayers,' then he sins in using a set form: and if so, all Protestant ministers are to blame, both in the

[7] Archbp. Usher's Judgment, &c. (p. 315.) [That is the second publication under that title, London, 1659. 8vo. Of Babylon being the present See of Rome: Of Laying on of Hands, &c.: Of the Old Form of Words in Ordination: and Of a Set Form of Prayer. Dr. Bernard's first publication under a similar title, Lond. 1657, is cited afterwards, b. 4. ch. 5. Ed.]

[8] Calvin. Form. Prec. Eccles. (Oper. 8. p. 29.) *His finitis, &c.*

[9] P. 102. We beseech thee, O God, &c.

[10] [A Reformed Liturgy drawn up by Baxter, and presented at the Savoy Conference. This piece is included in the tract entitled, *A Petition for Peace*, which Baxter published anonymously, London, 1661. 4to. This Liturgy is also to be found in the Practical Works, London, 1830. v. 15. p. 449. Ed.]

French and all other Protestant Churches; for they do not always word their own prayers, but use the forms that are prescribed for them. But then they do not contradict and condemn themselves, and say with Mr. Baxter that 'it belongs to the office of a pastor to word his own prayers,' but think that in most cases it is better the Church, by common consent, should word them for him; and in some cases it is more advisable to word men's sermons for them too, where pastors are weak and ignorant as many were in England, France, Holland, &c., in the beginning of the Reformation, for the assistance of whom Calvin's Sermons, and Bullinger's Decads, and our Book of Homilies were allowed to be read in churches. But of this I have spoken before[11]. I now proceed with the business of set forms in other offices.

Conformity to the Rubric and Canons, which appoint the form of administering the holy communion, is strictly required by the Synod of St. Maixant, under pain of ecclesiastical censure[12]; 'That hereafter there may be a general uniformity, in the churches of this kingdom, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, ... all pastors are enjoined to abstain from any new or private methods of their own; as of reading the words of institution between the ordinary long prayer and that appointed particularly for this sacrament, &c.' Then, after several other rites mentioned and enjoined, they conclude with this sanction[13]: 'Classes and synods shall have their eyes over those who act contrary to this order, and reduce them to their duty by all befitting censures.'

Here we have express mention, not only of a form of prayer to be used, but in what order, and with what rites and ceremonies the whole administration is to be performed; of which I shall speak more fully when I come to consider the particular objections that are made against our office for celebrating the holy communion. At present it is sufficient to have observed

[11] B. 2. ch. 11. pp. 83–85.

[12] Ch. 6. art. 14. (Q. v. 1. p. 327. A. v. 1. p. 375.)

[13] Quick. (ibid. p. 328.)—Aymon. (ibid. p. 375.) C'est pour quoi les synodes et les colloques auront l'œil sur ceux, qui feront autrement pour les ranger à leur devoir par des censures convenables. [The Author, when citing Quick, always substitutes *class* for *colloquy*, as I have observed before. See b. 1. ch. 4. p. 20. n. 43. Ed.]

how this Synod enjoins the use of a set form in administering the communion as strictly as any rule, canon, or rubric in the Church of England.

I observe the same exactness required in keeping close to the rule and form appointed for the administration of the other sacrament of baptism. Of which I will only give this one instance out of a canon of the Synod of Vitré, 1583. The question being proposed, Whether the usual form of prayer should be recited at the baptism of infants born out of matrimony, or in adultery, or incest, because there are in it those words, *Begotten of father and mother whom thou hast called into thy Church?* the Synod judged [14] that there should be no dispute made about it, for reasons which they there assign. Whence I infer that if they would not suffer any variation to be made in the usual form of baptism, in so extraordinary and singular a case, much less would they allow it to any upon common and ordinary occasions.

And as they strictly keep to their form in the baptism of infants, so do they likewise in the baptism of adult persons.

The third Synod of Charenton, 1645, composed a particular form for the baptism of persons converted from Paganism, Judaism, Mahometanism, and Anabaptism, which is inserted into the Acts of that Synod [15], where there is a long prayer, and particular interrogatories and answers for each person containing a renunciation of his former errors, &c. Which form by order of that Synod is enjoined to be used particularly on those occasions, whenever God shall be pleased to make any additions to his Church, of such converts.

Next for the form and manner of catechizing, they enjoin the use of Calvin's Catechism, and allow not the least variation from it. Some motions were made once, and again in the Synods of Montauban and Saumur, whether Calvin's Catechism should not be changed. But it was decreed [16], that it should be retained without the least alteration made therein, nor should ministers be suffered to expound any other.

[14] Ch. 2. art. 8. (Q. ibid. p. 144. A. ibid. p. 158.)

[15] Ch. 9. (Q. ibid. v. 2. pp. 447, seqq, A. v. 2. pp. 654, seqq.)

[16] Syn. of Montaub. 1594. ch. 4. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 161. A. v. 1. p. 179.)—Syn. of Saum. 1596. ch. 4. art. 2. (ibid. p. 179. A. ibid. p. 200.)

The Synod of Gap, 1603, renewed the same injunction, and added this further canon about the manner of expounding it [17]: 'that whereas some chose a particular text, and accommodated it to that particular section of the catechism they would treat of, they were required not to alter the established order, but to conform as others did unto it.'

And in the Synod of Loudun, 1659, it was ordered [18], 'that in those churches which have two sermons on the Lord's-day, the second sermon should be turned into an exposition of the catechism, by way of common-place.' So nice were they in prescribing not only the form and words of a catechism, but the very manner also in which it should be expounded.

They are strict in observing a precise rule and form in ordination of ministers. The Synod of St. Maixant [19] leaves the pastors at liberty to conceive a prayer of their own before the consecration, but when they come to that, they must insert these or the like words: 'We beseech thee, O God, to enrich and furnish this thy servant, duly chosen according to the order established in this thy Church, with the gifts and graces of thy Holy Spirit, &c., whom we do now dedicate and consecrate by this our prayer unto the office of a Gospel-minister. And, at these words, the pastor praying shall stand up, and lay his hand on the head of the ordained minister, who shall kneel before him at the foot of the pulpit. And prayer being ended, and the new pastor risen up, the minister shall give him the right hand of fellowship in the presence of all the people. And this canon and form shall be unanimously observed in all the provinces of the kingdom.'

Here we have not only a form of words, but the very ceremonies enjoined to be used both at and after consecration. And that none might vary from them, it is ordered that this canon should be inserted into the Book of Discipline, where now it stands [20], and all swear to observe it.

Next for their office of matrimony, they are very precise in prescribing rules about it; some of which I will here transcribe

[17] Ch. 3. art. 5. (Q. ibid. p. 228. A. ibid. p. 260.)

[18] Ch. 8. art. 2. (Q. ibid. v. 2. p. 529. A. v. 2. p. 747.)

[19] Ch. 3. art. 4. (Q. ibid. v. 1. p. 314. A. p. 358.)

[20] Ch. 1. art. 8. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 18.)

out of their Book of Discipline, which has a whole chapter [21] consisting of thirty-two canons relating to it.

The twenty-third canon requires 'all marriages to be publicly solemnized in the religious assemblies of the faithful, according to the Word of God, and by the ministry of the pastors, and not of any others.' Which is also a canon of the Synod of Montauban [22], 1594.

The twenty-fourth canon says [23], 'No marriage shall be solemnized on those days in which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered. And this canon shall not be broken but upon very great considerations, to be allowed by the consistory. Nor shall any marriage be celebrated on days of public prayer and fasting.'

The Synod of Loudun, 1659, prescribes canonical hours also [24]: 'No ministers shall marry any persons in their churches, excepting at the hours accustomed for such solemnities.' And there every provincial synod is empowered to make canons about the times and places of celebrating marriages.

The Synod of Vertueil, 1567, orders [25], 'that no marriage shall be celebrated on any week-day, except there be a sermon, nor upon the Lord's-day, except at nine o'clock in the morning; when the parties are to come before sermon, or else to be turned away unmarried.'

The fifteenth canon [of the same chapter] of the Book of Discipline requires [26] 'all marriages to be propounded first to the consistory, with a sufficient certificate of the promises.'

The nineteenth canon says [27], 'the churches shall not suffer any persons to be married without an ample knowledge and approbation of them.'

The twenty-first says [28], 'If one of the parties who would marry be excommunicated, the marriage shall not be permitted in any of our churches, unless the party have done penance for his offences.'

[21] Ch. 13. (ibid. pp. 49, seqq.)
[22] Ch. 3. art. 19. (Q. v. 1. p. 160. A. v. 1. p. 178.)
[23] Quick, (Introduct. v. 1. p. 52.)
[24] Ch. 10. art. 5. (Q. v. 2. p. 551. A. v. 2. p. 774.)
[25] Ch. 10. art. 2, of the sixth decree. (Q. v. 1. p. 83. A. v. 1. p. 89.
[26] Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 51.)
[27] Ibid. (p. 51.)
[28] Ibid. (p. 52.)

The sixteenth requires [29], 'the banns of marriage to be published in those places where the parties dwell: and if they have a mind to celebrate their marriage elsewhere, they shall carry with them a sufficient certificate that the banns have been thrice published.'

The seventeenth says [30], 'The banns shall be published on three Sabbath days following, in those places where the Word of God is preached, and in other places when common prayers are read.'

Now these rules are in a great measure the same that are prescribed in our Church, or at least justify our Canons and Rubrics, in restraining marriage to certain times and places, and canonical hours, and the benediction of a lawful minister, and the use of banns, certificates, &c.

And the very office of marriage is prescribed in their Liturgy to be with certain prayers and benedictions, and gift of body also; which is the same with that expression in our office, which some have so much scrupled, *With my body I thee worship.* The ring indeed is not used as it is with us and some other Protestant Churches: but now Mr. Baxter says [31], 'that good old objection is laid aside; for the commissioners at Sion College, in 1661, had nothing to say against it.' So that I need not look further how to justify it from the rules or practice of the French Church.

There is one form more prescribed in the French Church which is not in ours [32], but left to the discretion of the bishop, which is the form of excommunication decreed by the Synod of Alez, 1620, ch. 10, and by the following Synod at Charenton, ch. 9, art. 9, incorporated with the Canons of Church-Discipline [33], whereby it was made a common form which the ministers were obliged upon oath to use in all the churches of the kingdom.

[29] Ibid. (p. 51.)

[30] Ibid. (p. 51.)

[31] English Nonconformity, ch. 2. n. 8. (p. 12.) They [the Nonconformists] never spake against the ring in marriage.

[32] There was anciently a form of excommunication appointed in our Church as I find in the Canons made in the Synod under Archbishop Parker, 1571, entitled, *Articuli de sacro ministerio et procuratione ecclesiarum;* at the end of which is annexed a form of the sentence of excommunication. See Sparrow's Collection, (London 1671. p. 242.) *Forma sententiæ excommunicationis.*

[33] Ch. 5. art. 17. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 32.)

As to a funeral office, it is true they have none prescribed: but then I observe they are not at liberty to use what they please, but under an express prohibition and injunction to use none at all: for their canons expressly forbid it. 'At funerals there shall be neither prayers, nor sermons, nor any dole of public alms; that so all superstitions and other inconveniences may be avoided,' says their Book of Discipline[34]. And the same decree occurs in the Synods of Orleans, 1562; Figeac, 1579; Montauban, 1594; and Saumur, 1596. In the last of which a motion was made, by the deputy of Normandy, to alter this and permit exhortations to be made at the interring of the dead. But the Synod decreed[35] that there should be nothing innovated in that article.

So that here they were as much obliged to negative conformity in this point, as they were to positive conformity in the rest. They might neither pray with nor without a form at a funeral, nor so much as make a funeral sermon to the people.

Upon the whole it appears that every thing among them was to be done by rule and order: where they had forms prescribed they were obliged to observe them; where any thing was to be done and no form prescribed, then they were at liberty, as we are, to make a form for themselves; but where any thing was forbidden, as prayers and sermons at funerals, there they presumed not to speak a word in public, with or without a form, being upon oath to follow their rules of discipline throughout the kingdom. And I can see no difference betwixt the French Church and ours in this whole matter, save only that they were commonly more strict in exacting conformity to their orders and prescriptions.

I have hitherto considered the general agreement of the two Churches on this point, in that both of them have an established Liturgy, to which all ministers in their practice are obliged to conform: but that is not sufficient to vindicate the English Liturgy, unless we take off the particular exceptions that are made against it. Therefore I shall in the next place examine what opinion the French Church has always had of our Liturgy and Communion in particular, and show that the chief objec-

[34] Ch. 10. art. 5. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 44.)

[35] Ch. 3. art. 14. (Q. v. 1. p. 178. A. art. 15. v. 1. p. 198.)

tions made against it by dissenters may be answered upon the principles and practice of the French Church.

CHAP. II.

That the French Church allows of communion with the Church of England, and condemns those that separate from it upon the account of her Liturgy or Public Service.

If we examine the sentiments of the French Church from the beginning of the Reformation to this time, we shall always find that they allowed it lawful to communicate with the Church of England in her Liturgy, and condemned separation from it as criminal schism. When the discontented exiles at Frankford, Knox, Whittingham, and others, wrote to Calvin, giving him an account of the English Liturgy, he sent them this pacifying answer[36]: 'that in the Liturgy, as they described it to him, he found some *tolerabiles ineptias*, things not so fitly ordained as were to be wished, yet such as *might be borne with for a season*, forasmuch as no manifest impiety was contained in them.' And therefore he advised them 'not to be over rigid in their disputes about them.'

Now as Mr. Sprint in his Cassander Anglicus [Anglicanus][37] long ago observed, this answer was made to that description which Knox and Whittingham gave him of the English Liturgy, which probably was none of the fairest representations: yet he so far justified it as to say there was nothing impious or intolerable in it that might justify a separation. He is so free indeed as to say, there were some remains of Popish dregs in it; yet he would not have them divide communion upon it, but wait for a further reformation.

Beza was of the same mind, when he wrote to the discontented brethren in England, conjuring them by all that is good and sacred not to forsake the communion of the Church for such indifferent rites and ceremonies as were then imposed upon them. I have produced the passage at large before[38],

[36] Ep. 200. Anglos Francofurt. (Oper. t. 9. p. 98.) In Anglicana liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse *tolerabiles ineptias*. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam puritatem, quæ optanda fuerat: quæ tamen primo statim die corrigi non poterant vitia, quum nulla subesset manifesta impietas, ferenda ad tempus fuisse.... Vos ultra modum rigidos esse nolim.

[37] See the marginal note (p. 124. n. 2.) on the term *tolerabiles ineptias*.

[38] See b. 1. ch. 5. p. 31. n. 78.

out of his twelfth Epistle, and therefore need not here repeat it.

But I will add what he wrote to Bishop Grindal[39], upon occasion of the first separation that was begun in England by those that disliked the Liturgy: 'It is not without most bitter sorrow of heart that I understand your Churches are so far disturbed as that some begin to hold separate meetings among you, &c.'

No one doubtless would have used such passionate expressions against separate meetings to an English bishop, who thought communion with the Church in her Liturgy unlawful, and that it was necessary to make a separation from her.

But we have a greater testimony from the mouth of Beza. It was in the year 1564, some years after the Reformation was completed by Queen Elizabeth, that Beza dedicated his New Testament to her; where in the Epistle Dedicatory[40] he tells her, 'that England owed to her *verum Dei cultum nunc tandem a sordidissimis illis antichristianismi sordibus repurgatum, the true worship of God now at length purged from the sordid dregs of antichristianism.* Which thing did deservedly set her above all kings in the world: for some kings could not reform as they would; others were utter enemies to all reformation; and those few that did reform, did it in such

[39] Ep. 23. (p. 146.) ... Non sine acerbissimo dolore intelleximus, usque eo vexari ecclesias, ut nonnulli jam seorsim suos cœtus habeant.

[40] Ep. Dedicat. Nov. Test. præfix. (Cantabr. 1642. p. 6.) ... Tibi debet Anglia verum Dei cultum, nunc tandem a sordidissimis illis antichristianismi sordibus repurgatum. Hoc illud est, quod te merito supra omnes horum temporum reges, ipsis etiam e cœlo consentientibus angelis, attollit. Aliis enim, quod placet, non licet: qui quidem, carnis prudentia potius quam Dei sapientia in consilium adhibita, pessime tum sibi ipsis tum populis suis consulunt: alii, qui plurimi et potentissimi sunt, apertum cum pietate bellum gerunt: nonnulli, qui pauci sunt, religionem quidem profitentur; sed quomodo tandem institutam et quam multis adhuc nævis deformatam, præsertim si disciplinam ecclesiasticam spectes? Idololatriam damnant aliqui, nec tamen idola profligant. Missam Papisticam ejiciunt nonnulli, sed ut suam introducant. Transubstantiatio ab omnibus summo consensu repudiatur, sed ita, ut non desint quidam, qui nihilo ineptius delirium tanquam Christianæ religionis arcem tueantur.... At tibi, regina, tuisque populis, quod haud scio an cuiquam nostra ætate regno, per te datum est, puræ videlicet ac sinceræ Evangelii doctrinæ professio, ad quam si, ut boni omnes sperant, et fidelissimi quique tuarum regionum episcopi jam pridem desiderant, plenam quoque ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ instaurationem adjunxeris, sane non video, quid amplius vel Anglia ipsa possit a te flagitare, vel tua Majestas in ipsam conferre.

a manner as to leave religion still deformed with many failings, especially in point of ecclesiastical discipline. Some condemned idolatry, but did not cast out the idols; others cast out the Popish mass, only to introduce another of their own. All unanimously agreed in rejecting transubstantiation, but yet many endeavoured to establish as fond doctrines in its room. But you, O Queen,' says he, 'and your people by your means, enjoy what perhaps no other kingdom does, the complete profession of the pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel. To which if you add, what all good men hope for, and the most faithful bishops of your kingdoms have long ago desired, the full restoration of ecclesiastical discipline also; in truth I do not see what England can desire more of you, or your Majesty can confer more upon it.'

Here are none of those home-bred charges of superstition, idolatry, antichristianism, Popery, brought against the Liturgy; but it is owned to be the pure worship of God, purged from the filth and dregs of antichristianism. Our doctrine also, contained in the Articles, is commended as a complete system of the pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel, free from those errors and defects which may be found in some other Churches. And for discipline, it is not so defective as to make the Church deformed, as he says some others are for want of it; only he wishes it were more completely and fully restored, which is the Church's own wish in the office of commination. Now either Beza strained a point to compliment the queen, or else he highly justifies the Church of England: for I cannot see what any of her own sons, that had studied for it, could have said more in her commendation.

If from these we descend to authors of later days, who had better opportunities to acquaint themselves with the knowledge of the English Liturgy than the former, we shall find as ample testimonies given of it as of the English Church.

Isaac Casaubon, a man inferior to none in learning and knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity, gives this character of the Church of England, as it stood reformed by Queen Elizabeth and King James[41], 'that no Church in the world came

[41] Ep. ad Jacob. Magn. Britann. Reg. Præfat. Exercitat. in Baron. (*p.* 45.) ... Ut ad florentis quondam ecclesiæ formam nulla hodie propius accedat quam tua inter vel excessu vel defectu peccantes mediam

nearer to the form of the most flourishing primitive Church; having observed a middle way betwixt the two extremes of such others as failed either by excess or defect, by which moderation she obtained this privilege, that even those who envied her happiness were constrained to extol her in comparison of other Churches.'

About the same time Dr. Rivet, being then Scribe of the National Synod of Tonneins, wrote in the name of the whole Synod a letter full of high respect to King James, in which they not only give him in particular the title of *the bright shining star in the heaven of God's Church*, with some other eulogiums of the like nature, but also tell him it was their most earnest desire to maintain a good correspondence with the Churches of his kingdoms[42].' Which had been altogether false and ridiculous, had they believed the Liturgy or the Communion of the English Church unlawful.

Ludovicus Le Blanc, a man of accurate judgment, and one who had viewed the English Liturgy, having occasion to cite it, though but upon a particular account, yet gives it such a character as shows he had a general liking of it, and did not think any part of it superstitious or unlawful. Otherwise he would scarce have alleged it with so honourable a title, as *Celebris illa Liturgia Anglicana, the famed English Liturgy*[43], and much less have used its authority to pay some respect to the Apocryphal Books, as I shall show hereafter that he does, had he believed it so mean or imperfect a work as some would make it.

I do not here add the testimonies of those three late eminent divines, Mr. De l'Angle, Mr. Le Moyne, and Mr. Le Claude, because their whole letters on this subject may be seen at the end of Bishop Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation[44]. And many others I omit, which have been already produced

viam secuta. Qua moderatione hoc eam assecuta est Ecclesia Anglicana, ut illi ipsi, qui suam ei felicitatem invident, sæpe tamen ex aliarum comparatione illam cogantur laudare, &c.—See also his Answer to Cardinal Perron, cited by Bishop Morton of Episcopacy, (p. 4.)

[42] See this Letter in the Acts of the Synod of Tonneins, ch. 19. (Q. v. 1. p. 438. A. v. 2. p. 63.)

[43] Thes. de Libr. Canon. et Apocryph. (ad calc. Thes. Theolog. p. 175.) Atque etiam in Magna Britannia ex his libris [apocryphis] in cultu publico et ordinario solet aliquid prælegi, ut patet ex celebri illa Liturgia Anglicana, cujus usus obtinet in illo regno.

[44] London, 1681, pp. 395, seqq.

by Mr. Durel; only I will crave leave to repeat one testimony cited by him out of Ludovicus Capellus, Divinity Professor at Saumur; who in his Discourse about Liturgies among the *Theses Salmurienses*, gives this testimony to the Liturgy of the Church of England, among the rest that were compiled by the first reformers in every nation. 'At the Reformation,' says he[45], 'the Liturgy or Service of the Church was purged from all Popish superstition and idolatry, and all such ceremonies as were either too burdensome or of no use towards edification. And then set forms of liturgy were composed and prescribed by the several authors of the Reformation, in the countries where they lived; as in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Belgium, &c., varying as little as might be from the ancient forms of the Primitive Church. And these set forms have hitherto been happily used with profit and advantage by the Reformed Churches in every nation; till at last, of very late, there arose in England a sort of morose and froward, nice and scrupulous, not to say superstitious men, who upon very slight and slender reasons have thought fit not only to disparage, but abrogate the Liturgy hitherto used in the Church, together with the whole hierarchy of bishops, and instead of the

[45] Thes. Salmur. Part. 3. Disput. 47. De Liturgia, n. 6. (p. 658.) Verum ubi ante CXL. annos facta est a Romana Ecclesia discessio, et populus Christianus e Babylone egrediens subduxit se pontificiæ tyrannidi; Reformationis, quæ tum facta est, auctoribus repurgata est Liturgia sacra ab omni illa superstitione et idololatria papistica; eaque omnia sublata sunt, quæ nimium onerosa et operosa erant, vel parum aut nihil omnino ad ædificationem ecclesiæ faciebant, atque sic tum passim variæ a variis Reformationis auctoribus conditæ et præscriptæ sacræ Liturgiæ formulæ, simplices et puræ, in Germania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Belgio, etc., quam minimum fieri potuit ab antiquis formulis Primitivæ Ecclesiæ abscedentes, quibus hactenus Reformati, quique in sua gente et districtu, feliciter et cum fructu usi sunt: donec tandem nuperrime exorti sunt in Anglia morosi, scrupulosi, et delicatuli nimium, ne superstitiosos plane dicam, homines, quibus ecclesiæ suæ hactenus usurpata Liturgia visa est multis, sed levissimis nulliusque pene momenti de causis, non improbanda solum, verum etiam plane abroganda, et penitus una cum toto episcoporum hierarchico regimine abolenda et obliteranda; in cujus locum Directorium suum, quod vocant, substituerunt, quod nullam verbis conceptis formulam certam continet, sed argumenta duntaxat rerum, quæ in precibus, sacramentorum administratione, aliarumque cærimoniarum et rituum usurpatione, dici, fieri, peti a Deo et populo proponi debent. Cæterum liberum cuique pastori relinquitur, quibus libitum fuerit, verbis ea exponere. Quibus et hoc alii furiosi et insani addunt, non licere ulla verbis præscriptis concepta formula, in precibus tum publicis in conventu sacro, tum privatis domi, uti, adeoque nec pio ulli, salva conscientia, illis interesse.

Liturgy have substituted the *Directory*, as they call it, in its room; which contains no certain form in express words, but only the heads of such things as either in prayers, or administration of the sacraments, or the use of other rites and ceremonies, are to be said, done, asked of God, or propounded to the people; meanwhile leaving it to the liberty of every pastor to express himself in what words he pleases. To which some other furious and mad men have added; that it is unlawful to use any prescribed form of prayers, either in public or in private, and that a godly man cannot with a safe conscience be present at them.'

This he calls matter of fact; after which he proceeds to dispute *de jure, concerning the lawfulness and necessity* of set forms in all the parts of divine service, and answers all the common pleas that are made against such impositions and injunctions; which I leave the reader to consult at his leisure, and go on to consider the exceptions that are made against our Liturgy in particular, beginning with the business of assent and consent, which some make the ground of all their scruples.

CHAP. III.

That the French Church requires assent and consent to her Liturgy, &c., as strictly as the Church of England.

To make this appear, it will be necessary to show first what the Church of England means by *assent* and *consent:* for the straining of this too high, and putting too rigid a sense upon it, seems to minister the chief occasion of objections against it.

Now it is to be observed, that *assent* and *consent* are words of the very same importance, as Dr. Falkner proves from many instances in our statute-law, and mean no more, when applied to things to be practised, ordered, or used, save only an allowance that they may lawfully be used or practised. Thus we give our unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, &c., that is, that we allow it to be a book that has nothing contrary to God's holy ordinances in it; but is such as may lawfully and piously be used in all the offices prescribed therein, and that as such we ourselves will use it to the edification of his

Church. In the same manner we give our assent and consent to the Book of Homilies, that, as the Thirty-fifth Article expresses it, they contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, necessary for these times, and fit to be read in churches by the ministers, that the people may understand them.' Now, supposing there should be in any of these some lesser mistakes or errors of small moment; such as a wrong quotation of an author, a weak consequence in argumentation, a misapplication of a text of Scripture, or a doubtful interpretation of any, or a parachronism in point of history, or the like; these are errors indeed, which in strictness no man can assent to as truths, if that were the precise meaning of *assenting:* but he may give his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of those books, notwithstanding any such errors contained in them: for they are not of that moment as to make the books unlawful or unfit to be used, as containing any false doctrine, destructive of faith or manners, or any ways tending to corrupt men's minds, or hinder their edification. If they be sound in all substantial points, and every way fitted to instruct and edify men in the truth of Christian faith and piety, they have all that is requisite in strictness for a man to assent and consent to the public use of them.

Thus Dr. Falkner says well[46]: 'That even such persons, who conceive some things or expressions prescribed, either in the phrases of Common Prayer, or in the pointing of the Psalms, or in the translation of the Psalms or other Scriptures, not to be suitable to their own desires or apprehensions, yet to be free from sin, and of such a nature, as that the whole remaineth useful to guide the exercises of piety, those persons may safely and with a good conscience make this declaration of *assent*, with respect to other weighty considerations of submission to authority, promoting peace, order, unity, and the edification of the Church in the united exercise of a right religious worship. Even as such learned men, who may judge even in our last translation of the Bible not to have fitly expressed the sense of some difficult places, may yet both unfeignedly assent and earnestly persuade to the diligent use thereof, as knowing it to be of excellent advantage to pious and humble

[46] Libert. Eccles. ch. 3. s. 13. (p. 94.)

readers, for their profitable learning the Gospel doctrine, and the will of God.'

I say the same of the Homilies. A man may safely, and with a good conscience, give assent and consent to the use of them, though there be some small errors or mistakes in them. I will instance in one. In the Second Part of the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry, it is said, that the Council of Eliberis and the Council of Frankfort were held about the same time, and that Felix, the author of the Felician heresy, was president in the Council of Eliberis. Now all that are acquainted with ecclesiastical history know this to be a mistake, and a parachronism of nearly 500 years. What then? May not a man with a good conscience give his assent and consent to the Homilies for all this? If assent and consent indeed signified that we believed the Homilies to be free from all manner of mistakes, I do not see how any man could fairly assent to them: for this is a mistake too palpable to be denied, and no man can honestly depose that an error is truth, of what kind soever it be. But if assent and consent be taken as it ought to be, only for a declaration that we believe the book of Homilies to be a book that contains wholesome and sound doctrine, fit and lawful to be read in churches for the edification of the people; then assent and consent may be given to the use of it, notwithstanding this or any other errors of the like nature. For this is not to affirm that those errors are truths, as some strain the word *assent*, and say we mean what we do not mean, but only that it is a profitable book, that may be piously used and read with all its failings.

Admit now there were some as palpable mistakes as this I have mentioned, in the Liturgy itself; though I confess after all the objections that have been made against it, I know of no such, yet why might not a man for all that give his assent and consent to the use of it? Since the intent of that declaration is only to say he believes the book and every office in it to be such as may be lawfully used without sin, and that as such he will conform to it and use it. Which might be done, though it could be proved there were some little mistakes in it, such as some pretend to say there is in the rules for finding out Easter, and the translation of the Psalms. For notwithstanding this, a man might consent to read the Psalms, and to keep

an Easter with the Church by one rule or other, which is all that is required of him. But of these more hereafter.

I am now to show that the French Church requires assent and consent to her Liturgy and Form of Administration of Sacraments, &c., as strictly as the Church of England: and I need not stand long upon the proof of this point, having in effect done it more than once already, in discoursing about their Liturgy and Book of Discipline, which I showed they not only subscribed, but sware to use and observe; which is the most solemn way of assenting and consenting. I will here only remind the reader of two things:

1. That they do not take their Liturgy for a mere Directory, prescribing the substance of things only, and leaving particular forms to every man's pleasure; but they assent to it as a precise rule to be observed and followed without variation in all its injunctions. For Ludovicus Capellus[47] makes this difference betwixt a Liturgy and a Directory; that a Liturgy prescribes a certain form in express words to be used in prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; whereas a Directory contains only the heads of such things as are to be said or done, but leaves it to the liberty of every pastor to express himself in what words he pleases. And he says their form of prayer is a Liturgy in this proper sense, as contradistinct from a Directory, which he sets himself to dispute against and impugn.

2. They allow no nonconformists to continue in the ministry without censure, much less such as raise contention about any point of doctrine or discipline, or about the form of catechizing or administration of sacraments, &c. But if they break the Church's union, they are to be suspended by a classis, and prosecuted further by a provincial or a national synod. These are undeniable proofs that they require assent and consent to their Liturgy, as much as is required in the Church of England.

Therefore waiving all further proof of this, I will now proceed to consider the particular exceptions that are made against it.

[47] Vid. ap. Thes. Salmur. part. 3. disput. 47. De Liturgia. (p. 658.) See before, ch. 2. p. 110. n. 45.

CHAP. IV.

That the French Church requires assent and consent to the use of a translation of the Bible, which she owns has some failures in it.

One reason why some persons have refused subscription to the Liturgy, is because it requires assent and consent to be given to an old translation of the Psalms, which has several errors in it. I shall not now stand to examine whether those errors be real, or only pretended, which has been done by other hands already; by Dr. Falkner in particular, in that excellent book of his, called *Libertas Ecclesiastica*[48]: but I say, supposing them to be real mistakes in the translation, yet the Liturgy may be subscribed, and assent and consent given to that translation, notwithstanding those mistakes. For when we give assent and consent to this translation, we do not thereby declare it either to be the best translation, or absolutely without faults, but only such an one as we can piously use and read publicly in the Church. And unless this be the meaning of *assent* and *consent*, I know no translation of the Bible that could be assented to, till we could have a translation made by the same Spirit that first dictated the original; which I know no Church that ever pretended to, unless perhaps the Roman Catholic.

As to what concerns the translation used in the reformed Church of France, it is owned on all hands that it is far from being accurate and perfect: yet ministers are bound both by canon and oath to use no other in their churches. Monsieur Le Cene, a late author, in his book entitled, Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Françoise de la Bible, (Rotterdam, 1696. 8vo.) has collected mistaken passages enough to fill a volume. Nor do the French Synods deny the possibility of a more exact translation; yet they would never hearken to any proposals made to bring in any other into common use in their churches. The Synod of Montauban, 1594, has an express

[48] [Or, A Discourse vindicating the Lawfulness of those things, which are chiefly excepted against in the Church of England, &c. Lond. 1674. 8vo. (Third Edition, Lond. 1677. 8vo.) Ed.]

canon to this purpose [49]: 'Reserving liberty to the Church for a more exact translation, our Churches imitating the Primitive Church, are exhorted to receive and use in their public assemblies the last translation revised by the pastors and professors of the Church of Geneva.'

This was the translation of 1588, which the famous Mr. Diodati many years after revised and corrected, and wrote a long letter to the Synod of Alençon, to persuade them to authorize his new translation; but notwithstanding all his arguments, among which he urges the acknowledgment of the foresaid Synod of Montauban, and the concurring judgment of many other persons of note and quality; yet the Synod would not hearken to him, but ordered the old version to be continued in use in all their churches [50].

Again, after this, when complaint was made in their last Synod of Loudun, 1659, 'that some pastors read the texts of their sermons in other translations differing from that which was commonly used in their churches;' that Synod decreed [51], 'that no person should dare to use any other version than that which was ordinarily used, neither in reading the Scripture, nor in taking their texts out of it.'

Now let any one say whether this be not as much requiring assent and consent to an old translation, as is required in the Church of England.

CHAP. V.

That the French Church does not condemn the use of the Apocrypha, though she forbids it to be read in her church-assemblies.

As to the next point which some have urged as a reason against subscription, that our Church requires the Apocrypha to be read on some certain days; it shall be readily owned that the French Church has no such injunction, but the contrary: for the Synod of Montauban, 1594, orders [52] the Churches to

[49] Ch. 4. art. 3. (Q. v. 1. p. 161. A. v. 1. p. 179.)

[50] See Diodati's Letter at the end of the Synod of Alençon, 1637. (Quick, v. 2. pp. 412, seqq.) [It is not found in Aymon. Ed.]

[51] Ch. 10. art. 1. (Q. ibid. p. 550. A. v. 2. p. 773.)

[52] Ch. 4. art. 2. (Q. v. 1. p. 161. A. art. 12. v. 1. p. 180.)

see 'that their readers and deacons do not read publicly the Apocrypha, but the canonical books of Holy Scripture.' But then they do not prohibit this as a thing absolutely unlawful, nor condemn those Churches which enjoin the reading of it, but only use their own liberty in prescribing what they think fit in their own Church; being ready to give under their hands at the same time that they believe it lawful to be read in those Churches which appoint it: nay, if occasion be, they will take their oath upon it. To prove which I need only observe that they have always expressed themselves willing to subscribe the Belgic Confession, and they actually did subscribe it in the Synod of Vitré, 1583 [53]. Now it is one article of the Belgic Confession [54], 'That the apocryphal books may be read in churches, and instructions be drawn from them so far as they are consonant to the canonical books, but no further:' which is exactly the doctrine of the Church of England. So that by the same reason that the French Church subscribes the Belgic Confession, she would no doubt subscribe and assent to the prescription of the Church of England in this point as well as any other.

Some of her best writers speak honourably of the English Liturgy, for this very reason, for which others condemn it. Among these we may reckon the testimony of the famous Ludovicus Le Blanc; who, in his theological disputation *De Libris Canonicis et Apocryphis*, has these words [55]: 'As the ancient Christian Church, though she did not equal these books to those that are divine, yet had them in great honour and esteem, and judged them worthy to be read, not only privately but publicly, as exceedingly useful for edification in manners; so we

[53] Ch. 2. art. 2. (Q. v. 1. p. 143. A. art. 3. v. 1. p. 158.)

[54] Art. 6. (ap. Corp. Confess. p. 164.) Quod apocryphi [libri] legi quidem in ecclesia possint, et fas sit ex illis eatenus etiam sumere documenta, quatenus cum libris canonicis consonant; at non ultra.

[55] Ad calc. Thes. Theolog. (p. 175.) Quemadmodum prisca Christianorum ecclesia, quamvis eos libros divinis æquari noluerit, maximo eos in honore et pretio habuit, et dignos judicavit, qui non tantum privatim, sed publice prælegerentur, tanquam ad ædificationem morum utilissimi, sic nos quoque eis hodie non negamus honorificum locum in ecclesia Dei, et privilegium quoddam, supra omnem scriptorum ecclesiasticorum sortem. Cujus rei argumentum est, quod eos in eodem cum libris vere sacris et canonicis volumine compingere solemus, et in homiliis sæpe citare non dedignamur. Atque etiam in Magna Britannia ex his libris in cultu publico et ordinario solet aliquid prælegi, ut patet ex celebri illa Liturgia Anglicana, cujus usus obtinet in illo regno.

also at this day do not deny them an honourable place in the Church of God, but allow them a privilege above the common rank of other ecclesiastical writings. A proof of which is, that we use to bind them up in the same volume with the sacred canonical books, and often think fit to allege them in our sermons. Moreover in Great Britain the custom is to read lessons out of these books, in their public and ordinary worship; as appears from that celebrated English Liturgy which is in use in that kingdom.' This is not spoken like one that could not subscribe the English Liturgy, because it appointed the reading of the apocryphal books.

Chamier does not expressly mention the Church of England, but he virtually commends her practice in commending the practice of the Primitive Church, which was the same. For Ruffin says[56], 'the Fathers of the Church sometimes distinguished all the books into three sorts, *canonical, ecclesiastical,* and *apocryphal:* the *canonical* were the same which we call so now, which they used to confirm articles of faith; *ecclesiastical* were those which we now call *apocryphal,* which they allowed to be read in churches, but not to be of authority to confirm articles of faith; the third sort, which they called *apocryphal,* were not those which we now call so, but other hurtful books, which they would not allow to be read in churches.' Now says Chamier[57], speaking of this account which Ruffin gives, 'this distinction is doubtless very useful, and pleases me very well.'

And yet some judicious persons are of opinion, that the apocryphal books are not so strictly enjoined, but that ministers are authorized and allowed to change the lessons taken out of them for others of the New Testament more edifying. For the admonition to ministers before the Second Book of Homilies says, 'That whereas it may chance that some one or other chapter of the Old Testament may fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or holy days, which were better to be

[56] [Expos. Symb. ad Artic. *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam.* (Ad calc. Oper. Cyprian. Amstel. 1700. p. 165.) Sciendum tamen est quod et alii libri sunt qui non *canonici,* sed *ecclesiastici* a majoribus appellati sunt: ut *est* Sapientia Solomonis, &c..... Cæteras vero Scripturas *apocryphas* nominârunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt, &c. ED.]

[57] Panstrat. De Canone, l. 4. c. 1. n. 10. (t. 1. p. 93 e.) Quæ distinctio utilis est sine dubio, mihique valde placet.

changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done of ministers to spend their time to consider of such chapters beforehand, whereby their prudence and diligence in their office may appear, and the people may have cause to glorify God for them, &c.'

Hamon L'Estrange thinks[58] this administers probable occasion of conjecture, that our Church hereby intended an allowance of declining apocryphal lessons on holy days, that the history of the saints might be the better completed by some express chapters of the New Testament; forasmuch as both the canonical and apocryphal books go under the complex notion of the Old Testament.

And Mr. Baxter himself was not ignorant of this admonition in the Homilies: for in his Reformation of the Liturgy[59] he refers to it, desiring this alteration to be made in the Calendar, and inserted as a rubric into the new Common Prayer Book: 'That after the Psalms for the day, the minister shall read a chapter of the Old Testament, such as he finds most seasonable; or with the liberty expressed in the admonition before the Second Book of Homilies.' So that when he had a mind to come a little near the Church, he could find a liberty granted to change any lesson of the Old Testament for a more edifying one in the New: but when he set himself to dispute against the Church, then we have not a word of this liberty, but a terrible argument formed against the rubric, for appointing some useful lessons of the Apocrypha to be read, though sufficiently distinguished from Canonical Scripture. For the Sixth Article does put a manifest difference between them; and any minister who finds his people so ignorant as not to know what the Apocrypha means, may inform them by reading the Article to them: though Mr. Baxter was so confident as to say[60], 'some readers of common prayer are forbidden by the canon to expound even that one word to them.'

[58] Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 1. p. 25. (Reprint, p. 41.)...Which mutation being restrained to the Old Testament alone, &c.

[59] Lond. 1661. (p. 35.)

[60] English Nonconformity, ch. 17, point. 14. (p. 86.)

CHAP. VI.

Of assenting to read Common Prayer daily, either privately or openly.

In the Preface to the Common Prayer-Book, concerning the service of the Church, there is a rubric which orders 'all priests and deacons to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause.'

Mr. Baxter says[61], 'When the Book was first made, to help the ignorant vulgar out of Popery, every day to use the Common Prayer was a very good help to them. But the case is much altered, and people now have more suitable helps, and ministers have so much other work to do in their studies, and with their neighbours, and some prayers to use more suitable to their families and closets, that it must needs be a sinful impediment against other duties to say common prayer twice a day.'

Any one may perceive whither this discourse tends, viz. to discourage the daily use of public common prayer in the church, which it was doubtless the design, and a very laudable design, in our first reformers to establish, as far as possible, throughout the nation. This appears from the rubric which immediately follows that which Mr. Baxter excepts against, where it is ordered, 'That the curate that ministereth in every parish-church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish-church or chapel where he ministereth, &c., that the people may come to hear God's Word, and to pray with him.'

Now he that quarrels with this must think it improper that men should meet every day to worship God in public. For otherwise, why should it be a sinful impediment of other duties to say common prayer daily? If it be said there ought to be no public prayers without a sermon, and no man is qualified to preach every day in the year: I answer,—

First, that in effect common prayer is never read without a sermon: for the lessons out of God's Word are a very instructive one, if duly attended to.

But, secondly, if by *a sermon* be meant a set discourse of

[61] Ibid. p. 41.

the minister's own composing, of such a length and in a certain form, &c., then it is false, and a rash accusation of God's Church, to say there ought to be no public prayers without a sermon. For all Churches allow it, and most encourage and recommend it. The French Church in particular has several canons which suppose and authorize this practice. When the Synod of Castres, 1626, says[62], 'Baptism may be administered on any day when common prayer is said without sermon:' does not that suppose an allowance of common prayer to be used without a sermon?

The second Synod of Vitré[63], 1617, leaves it to the prudence of Consistories to congregate the people on all Popish holy days, either to hear the word preached, or to join in common public prayers, as they shall find to be most expedient. Does not this authorize reading of common prayer without a sermon, when it leaves it to the discretion of Consistories to appoint it if they thought convenient?

Thirdly, the cases of reading common prayer, and preaching a sermon of the minister's own composing every day, are very different from one another. For the one cannot be done without a great expense of time beforehand to prepare the composition; whereas the other is a form composed to the minister's hand, and needs no other time to be spent upon it but what is necessary for the act of celebration. And yet some persons have that quickness and ability as to preach as well as pray publicly every day in the week. So Calvin was used to do, as Beza tells us in his Life[64]: and yet this did not hinder his other business. Yet such examples are not proper to be made a rule; because all men cannot preach every day in the week, (no, not though Calvin's method were brought again into use, which was but to expound for about a quarter of an hour some portion of Scripture; for though many men have the same ability, yet all have not; whereas no man wants ability to read common prayer daily, if he can have a congregation to join with him. If not, the Church would have him supply that defect by using it morning and evening in his own family, unless hindered by sickness or some other urgent cause. Be-

[62] Ch. 26. art. 15. (Q. v. 2. p. 197. A. art. 3. v. 2. p. 376.)

[63] Ch. 9. art. 3. (Q. v. 1. p. 498. A. v. 2. p. 108.)

[64] [Ap. Melch. Adam. *Vit. Theolog. Exteror.* (p. 74.) Qui deinceps fuerint ordinarii ejus labores, ex re ipsa dijudicari potest. Alternis hebdomadibus totis concionabatur; triduo vero docebat, &c. Ed.]

yond this the injunction cannot be supposed to extend: because it being common prayer, and several parts of it at least, as the Absolution, &c., supposing a congregation, it cannot be thought a rule for closet devotion. Nor is the injunction so strict to use it daily either in the church or family, but that an urgent cause may dispense with the omission of it. And what are urgent causes every man must judge for himself, considering his own circumstances, with Christian prudence and discretion. The present rubric only mentions 'sickness,' but in former rubrics it was worded thus [65], *Except they be let by preaching, studying divinity, or by some other urgent cause.*

CHAP. VII.

Of making the surplice and other habits necessary to ministration.

In the rubric before the order for Morning Prayer it is appointed, 'That such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.'

Against this Mr. Baxter has three exceptions. 1. 'We know not,' says he [66], 'what was then in use, and therefore cannot consent to we know not what. 2. We are told that the albe and many other ornaments were then in use which are since put down, and we may not consent to restore them without more reason than we hear. And the canon enumerating the ornaments now, we suppose the addition of all those will contradict it. 3. We meet with few conformists that know what was then in use; and we see that all those that subscribe or consent to this yet use them not, &c.'

There is but one true word in all this, which is, that Mr. Baxter was really ignorant (as he confesses he was) of what he both might and ought to have known before he had formed his objections against the rubric. To show that his exceptions are founded upon mere ignorance and mistake, and to inform all those who labour under the same prejudice, I will here set

[65] See L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 1. p. 10. (*Reprint, p. 16.*) See also the editions of the Common Prayer before 1661.

[66] English Nonconformity, ch. 20. point 17. (p. 102.)

down the old rubric as it was in the second year of King Edward, and also the words of the Fifty-eighth Canon, which Mr. Baxter refers to; and let any ingenuous reader try whether he can find any contradiction between them.

The words of the old rubric are these[67]: 'In the saying or singing of matins and even-song, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish-churches and chapels shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges the arch-deacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the choir, besides their surplices, such hoods as pertain to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly, that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertain to their several degrees.'

This is all that concerns private ministers in that rubric. The rest that follows belongs to bishops only, which says, 'They shall have upon them in time of their ministration, besides their rochet, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also their pastoral staff in their hand, or else borne or holden by their chaplain.'

Now this was it that led Mr. Baxter into his mistake. He had heard something of albes and other ornaments in use in King Edward's time[68], but he unluckily puts the bishop's robes upon every private minister; whereas no other ornaments belonged to them but only the hood and surplice, the one enjoined, the other allowed or recommended.

Next let us hear the Fifty-eighth Canon: 'Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice. And such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their surplices at such times such hoods as by the orders of the Universities are agreeable to their degrees.'

[67] See King Edward's Liturgy. See also L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 3. p. 63. (Reprint, p. 89.)

[68] There are two other rubrics in King Edward's first Liturgy, in the Communion Office, which orders the ministers upon communion days to wear, with their albes, vestments, or copes, or tunicles. *The first rubric* is in the beginning, the other in the end of the Communion Office; cited by Hamon l'Estrange, chapters 6 and 7. p. 152 and 196. (Reprint, p. 225 and 301.) But the minister's albe is there expressly said to be the same with the surplice, being only another name for it; though some albes were probably different from it.

Where now is the contradiction between this canon and the rubrics? They all speak of surplices and hoods, but of no other ornaments belonging to private ministers. And Mr. Baxter might have known this, had he either consulted the old rubric, or L'Estrange, who compares the new and old together: but his business was not so much to inquire into the meaning of rubrics, as to find out some exceptions against them.

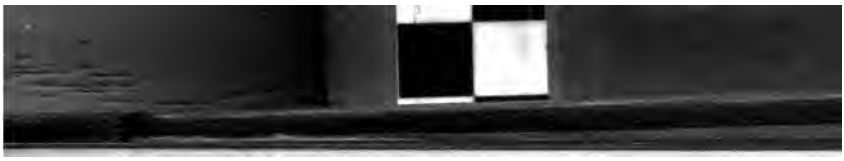
Having thus settled the controversy about What ornaments are to be used? the next question is, Whether it be lawful to use them in divine service? And here dissenters are divided. Some say they are 'absolutely unlawful, superstitious, Popish, anti-Christian, &c.' Others are ashamed of this, and say[69] 'they are not against the use of them, but only against the imposition of them, and ejecting men from the ministry who dare not use them.'

Let us now compare the writers of the French Church with both these sorts of objectors. And, first, I observe of Calvin, that he was not against the use of a scholastic habit, nor yet against enjoining it: for he himself wore a gown, or long robe, as was the custom of ministers at Geneva; for which he never met but with one rebuff in all his life, and that was from a silly woman, who declaimed against long garments, 'as marks of false prophets, and indecent clothing, which the clergy used to the great scandal of the Church.' She pretended to prove this from the Gospel, saying, 'Is it not written, they shall come to you in long garments?' When Calvin showed her, 'that this was a falsification of the Gospel, and that there was no such expression to be found, unless it was in the Gospel of the Manichees,' she called him and his brethren all tyrants, because they would not suffer her to talk at this extravagant rate what she would against them: and so the dispute ended. 'For,' says Calvin[70], 'these wounds I leave untouched, as seeming to me incurable, till it shall please God to put his healing hand to them.'

Persons who have so little sense as to think the wearing of a gown for distinction or decency's sake is against the rules of the Gospel, are not fit to be argued with, in Calvin's opi-

[69] So Mr. Baxter, chapters 3 (p. 10.) and 33 (p. 121.) of his English *Nonconformity*.

[70] *Ep. ad Farell.* (Oper. t. 9. p. 38.) Hæc vulnera, quod insanabilia videntur, intacta relinquo, donec manum Dominus admoveat.



nion, but to be pitied and prayed for, and if they continue obstinate, to be left to God's mercy in his due time to convince them.

But what if men will forsake our communion because we wear a gown or surplice; or, where these things are enjoined, will utterly refuse to submit to the use of them? As to the gown, Calvin had occasion to resolve this question upon a particular case that happened at Geneva, during his own regency there in the University; of which he gives this account in another Epistle to Farel[71]. 'You know,' says he, 'by the laws of our city, all students are to lay aside their swords, and appear only in their scholastic habit, when they come to the holy communion. But some foolish Frenchmen, who study here, are so addicted to their own humour, that they will rather renounce their profession of studying than submit to these laws. Now because this appears to be manifest contumacy, I resolved not to endure it: for I had rather they should all be gone, than stay here to the prejudice and loss of our discipline.' This, I think, is insisting upon the use of an habit as much as ever is done in the Church of England. It matters not whether it be gown or surplice, or any other habit; for the reason will hold for one habit as well as another, so long as the law appoints it.

Calvin did not think the surplice or bishop's albe unlawful: for writing to Bullinger about the behaviour of Bishop Hooper, he says[72], 'As I commend his constancy in refusing unction, so I could wish he would not contend so much *de pileo et veste linea, about the cap and surplice,* though in my judgment I had not approved of them: and this advice I gave him myself not long ago.'

Beza was of the same mind, when he wrote to the discontented brethren in England, who complained to him about the imposition of the surplice, and some other such indifferent things. 'These ceremonies,' says he[73], 'are not of that kind

[71] Ep. alt. ad Farell. (ibid. p. 259.) Scis, leges illas esse latas, ut scholastico habitu contenti gladios deponant..... Eas ut eludant, ejurant professionem literarum. Sed quia apparet manifesta contumacia, eam statui nullo modo ferre. Malo enim abeant omnes, quam ut hic maneant cum disciplinæ jactura.

[72] Ep. ad Bulling. (ibid. p. 60. ad summ.) Sicuti in recusanda unctione, ejus constantiam laudo, ita de pileo et veste linea maluissem, ut illa etiam non probem, non usque adeo ipsum pugnare: idque nuper suadebam.

[73] Ep. 12. ad Quosd. Anglic. Eccles. Fratr. (p. 107.) Etsi ista, nostro

of things that are impious in themselves; and therefore they are not of so great moment, as that either the pastors should forsake their ministry rather than wear those garments; or that the people should rather forsake their spiritual guides than hear in such a vesture.'

Peter Martyr gave this advice to a friend in England[74], who scrupled the surplice: 'For my own part I could wish that all things might be done with the greatest simplicity: yet I consider that if an union in points of doctrine could be obtained between our Churches and those of Saxony we should never make any separation upon the account of such vestments in divine service.'

In another Epistle, to Bishop Hooper, he more largely defends the lawfulness of them, and answers all the bishop's arguments, whereby he endeavoured to prove the use of them impious and unlawful. 'Your reasons,' says he[75], 'do not persuade me to determine the use of such habits to be pernicious,

quidem judicio, non recte revehuntur in ecclesiam, tamen quum non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se impiæ sunt, non videntur nobis tanti momenti, ut propterea vel pastoribus deserendum potius sit ministerium, quam ut vestes illas assumant, vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum potius, quam ut ita vestitos pastores audiant.

[74] Ep. 41. ad Amic. p. 1127. (p. 790 g. 5.) Optarim enim omnia quam simplicissime fieri: quum tamen cogito, si inter Saxonas et nostras ecclesias quo ad dogmata pax obtineri posset, propter hujuscemodi vestes haudquaquam separationem futuram.

[75] Ep. 4. ad Hoop. (p. 761 f. 6.) Non tamen eo ista me adducunt neque etiam rationes abs te allatæ, ut statuam usum hujusmodi vestium exitiosum esse, aut natura sua verbo Dei contrarium, quem omnino *ἀδιάφορον* arbitror.... Licet... retinendum vestium in sacris discrimen haud putem, *impium* nihilo minus esse nequaquam dicerem, ita ut quoscunque viderem illum usurpare, damnare audeam. Certe si persuasum id haberem, nunquam cum ecclesia hic in Anglia communicassem, *in qua discrimen* hujusmodi adhuc est conservatum. Nam licet, ut dixi, parum illud approbem, attamen video quandoque in his indifferentibus nonnulla, quamvis molesta sint et onerosa, quoad non aliter liceat, ferenda esse, ne, si pro illis acerbius quam oporteat contendatur, id et progressui Evangelii sit impedimento, et quæ natura sua sunt indifferentia, nostra vehementi contentione doceantur esse impia.... Si etiam illa, quæ indifferentia sunt, ut impia prædicemus, adeo fere omnium animi a nobis alienantur, ut doctrinæ solidæ atque concionibus necessariis attentos et patientes auditores amplius non se præbeant.... Deinde si pergamus hæc indifferentia quasi perniciosa et impia dissuadere, permultas ecclesias non ab Evangelio alienas damnamus, et innumeras, quæ antiquitus ut laudatissimæ celebrantur, nimis acerbe taxamus. Non me latet, ecclesiarum auctoritatem sive præsentium sive præteritarum non eo debere valere, ut illis verbi Dei veritas prematur; nam ea, etsi fractus orbis illabatur, inconcussa et immota permanere debet, sed propter *ἀδιάφορα* id minime faciendum esse contendo, vel ut damnentur, vel ut de eis minus honeste loquamur.

or in its own nature contrary to the Word of God, but I believe it to be altogether an indifferent thing. Though I be not, in my own opinion, for retaining this distinction of habits, yet I can by no means call it *impious;* I dare not condemn those whom I see observe it. If I had been so persuaded, I would never have communicated here with the Church of England, in which this distinction is still observed. For though I do not altogether like it, yet I am sure many such indifferent things, though troublesome and burdensome, are to be borne with; lest whilst we contend more bitterly than is meet about them we hinder the progress of the Gospel, and by our vehement contention teach those things to be impious which are in their own nature indifferent. By this means we shall so alienate men's minds from us, that they will not hearken to solid doctrine, or give any heed to our most necessary discourses. Besides, if we go on to dissuade men from these indifferent things, as pernicious and impious, we must condemn very many evangelical Churches, and bitterly tax all the ancient Churches, which are so worthily celebrated by us. I know, indeed, the authority of no Church, ancient or modern, ought so far to weigh with us as to make us suppress the truth of God's Word; but what I contend for is, that for indifferent things we should never condemn any Church, nor speak irreverently of it.'

After this he goes on to answer the bishop's arguments; where he shows[76]: 'First, that all imitation of the Jewish rites is not unlawful. Secondly, that this distinction of habits is not the invention of Popery or Antichrist, because it was used in the Primitive Church long before Popery was known in the world: which he proves from many passages of Eusebius, Cyprian, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and some known usages of the Church. Thirdly, that all human inventions, in the cir-

[76] Ibid. p. 1086. (p. 762 c. 3.) Ministri ecclesiæ, sunt angeli et nuntii Dei, ut Malachias testatur; et angeli semper fere albis apparuerunt vestibus induti. Quomodo privabimus ecclesiam hac libertate, ut non possit suis actionibus et ritibus aliquid significare, modo id fiat non statuendo cultum Dei, modeste atque paucis, ut populus Christi cærimoniis non oneretur et ne meliora impediantur? Dicas, præstent se angelos: non id significent? Audio. At idem potuisset *Paulo* respondere, quando statuebat ad Corinthos, ut mulier esset operto capite et vir aperto. Rationem quippe significationis tantum urget. Nam quispiam illi ex ecclesia Corinthiaca respondere potuisset, Præstet se vir caput mulieris, et mulier subjectam viro se factis et vita demonstret; non id signis declarare contendant. At vidit Apostolus, et hoc utiliter fieri, ut non tantum recte vivamus, sed etiam verbis et signis de officio admoneamur.

cumstances of God's worship, are not unlawful: otherwise it would be unlawful to communicate before dinner. Fourthly, that the wearing of a surplice may have a good and useful signification, and that agreeable to the Scripture: for the ministers of the Church are called *angels* and *messengers of God.* Now the angels almost always made their appearances in white garments. How then shall we deprive the Church of this liberty, that she may not signify something by her rites and actions, provided they be not made parts of God's worship, and be modest and few, so as not to burthen Christian people with ceremonies, and be used to promote, or not impede, some better things? If you say, Men should make themselves angels and not signify it by outward signs: I answer, The same thing might have been replied to St. Paul, when he ordered among the Corinthians that women should be covered and men uncovered: because he only urges the reason of outward signification. One might have replied, That a man may demonstrate himself to be the head of the woman, and the woman to be subject to her own husband, better by their lives and actions than any outward signs. But the Apostle knew it to be useful, not only that we should live well, but also that we should use both words and signs to put us in mind of our duty. Fifthly, he adds in the last place[77], *Neque illico tyrannidem induci arbitror, si quid in Ecclesia indifferens suscipiatur agendum, et a multis constanter servetur. I do not think it tyranny in any Church, that agrees to observe an indifferent thing and generally practises according to such an order:* for it is now become a rule to administer the eucharist only in the morning, and we refuse to celebrate it in our assemblies after dinner. But will any man call this tyrannical, which all men freely consent to observe?'

This discourse of Peter Martyr not only justifies the use of the surplice, but also frees the imposition of it from that charge of tyranny which Mr. B. and others now so confidently bring against it: and it is the more considerable because it comes from one who, in his own judgment, was for laying it aside, but had so much of the Christian temper and discretion, that

[77] Neque illico tyrannidem induci arbitror, si quid in ecclesia indifferens suscipiatur agendum, et a multis constanter servetur. Hodie *sic administramus* eucharistiam tempore matutino, ut a prandio nolimus in sacro cœtu synaxin habere. At quis dicet hoc esset tyrannicum, quod voluntate atque consensu pari omnes facimus?

he resolved to make no contention about it. God give all men the same temper, and we shall hear no more disputes about a surplice!

Peter Du Moulin was so far from scrupling any habits, that he was used to say, with relation to those that scrupled them here, 'that if the Queen Regent of France would but give him leave to preach before her, he would do it though it were in a friar's coat;' as his son, who writes his Life[78], says he had it from his own mouth. And I believe there are few Frenchmen but who would be glad to enjoy the liberty of preaching and freedom of their religion in their native country, upon much harder conditions than being obliged to wear a surplice.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the rules for finding out Easter: that supposing them to contradict one another, yet a man may honestly give his assent and consent to use the Common Prayer Book.

There is no one thing which Mr. Baxter oftener repeats in all his books, than this objection about the Church's rule for finding out Easter-day. He says[79], 'The calendar gives a true rule to find it; but then there is another rule added to find it always, which is frequently false, as every almanack will tell us: that is, that it is always the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March.'

I will not now stand to examine whether the rule he excepts against as false be liable to that charge. It is agreed on all hands by those that understand calculations and astronomy that it is generally true, and it is not every almanack that will show its falsehood. But admit it were always wrong; what is that to our giving assent and consent to the use of the Liturgy? I have showed before, that assent and consent does not mean that every tittle and saying in any book is infallibly true, but that it contains no such errors repugnant to God's word as render it unfit to be used in divine service; which

[78] Prefixed to the Novelty of Popery: (p. 18.) Being visited by Englishmen, &c.

[79] English Nonconformity, ch. 15. point 12. (p. 81.)

is the sense of all English writers [80] upon this subject. Now suppose this rule to be false; why may we not consent to use the Liturgy for all that? Especially considering that this pretended discovery of its falseness is but lately made, and we are neither obliged to say it is a true rule, nor any ways confined to use it; because we have another rule, which is confessedly true and fully answers the Church's design, which is to keep one Easter in a year, and no more; though Mr. Baxter says we are obliged to keep two. If such failings as these would hinder assent and consent, it would be hard to find any human writing which a man could honestly assent to. The French Church has not our rules for finding out Easter, but follows the new style of Pope Gregory, and keeps it eleven days before us; yea, sometimes at a month or five weeks' distance, if my author [81] do not deceive me. Now many excellent chronologers, such as Scaliger [82], Calvisius [83], Mæstlinus [84], and Origanus [85], have undertaken to prove, that the new calendar has many errors and mistakes in it, and in time will prove as false a rule for finding out Easter as that rule of ours, which was the rule of the Council of Nice. But may not the French Church assent to use this calendar and keep their Easter by it, notwithstanding such mistakes? What end should we have of heresies and schisms, if such things as these should raise scruples in men's minds and hinder their assent and consent to the use of a pious book fitted for divine service.

I have already proved that the French Church requires assent and consent to the use of a translation of the Bible,

[80] See before, chapter 4, preceding, about Assent and Consent, p. 115.—See also Dr. Sherlock's Defence of Stillingfleet, ch. 2. s. 2. *Who are the Dividers?* (p. 105.) Some learned men are not so confident that rule is false, as Mr. B. seems to be, &c.

[81] Meggerlin. Comment. Chronolog. ad calc. Theatri Divini Regim. c. 10. (p. 91.) Hoc vero breviter addemus, &c.

[82] [Consult his *Opus de Emendatione Temporum in Octo Libros tributum*. Lutet. 1583. fol. Genev. 1729. fol.

[83] The author of the *Formula Calendarii Novi*. Lips. 1613. 4to. A larger chronological work was entitled *Opus Chronologicum ex Auctoritate S. Scripturæ, &c.* See the Index of Authors at the end of this volume under *Calvisius*.

[84] See his *Alterum Examen Novi Pontificalis Gregoriani Kalendarii*. Tubing. 1586. 4to.

[85] See in his *Nova Motuum Cœlestium Ephemerides Brandenburgicæ, ab anno* 1595 *in annum* 1655, *cum Introductione plenior*. Franc. ad Viadr. 1609. 3 tom. 4to. Also in his *Ephemerides Novæ annorum triginta ser, &c.* Franc. ad Viadr. 1599. 4to.—See the Index of Authors at the end of this volume under *Origanus*. Ed.]

which she owns has some failures in it. Though every tittle be not accurately and exactly translated according to the original, and consequently not to be assented to, in that sense, as if it were an exact translation when they own it to be otherwise, yet every minister is obliged to give his assent and consent to it as a translation that is lawful, and not repugnant to the word of God to use it; and he must use that and no other in his ministration. Now why may we not as innocently assent to use a Liturgy which has a mistaken rule for finding out Easter, as the French Church does to use a translation of the Bible which she owns has some things in it not exactly according to the original? If it be 'assenting to a small lie,' as Mr. Baxter modestly terms it, in the English ministers, I cannot see how the French will escape the same imputation. I will not recriminate, nor give him the lie, but only take leave to say, that he and all others who thus charge the Church of England are under a mistake about assent and consent, and understand not truly her constitution. Nor indeed can they account for their own practice in assenting to read the Bible upon their principles and hypothesis: for the very best translation which they consent to use as well as we is thought by many critics of the best rank to have some mistaken passages, more material than the rule about finding out Easter, which need a more exact translation. I will only instance in one, which was the discovery of the late eminent Dr. Pocock [85], a person whose modesty no less than his learning, so conspicuous in all his writings, rendered him famous over all the world. The place I mean is Micah 5, 2, where the present translation reads it; "Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah;" whereas that learned person proves it ought to be translated quite otherwise, "Thou Bethlehem Ephratah art very great among the thousands of Judah." For, as he observes [86], the original word, *tsair* or *segor*, sig-

[85] [He was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1628. Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo in 1630. Professor of Arabic at Oxford in 1640. Died in 1691.

[86] See a Note in his edition of the Porta Mosis of Maimonides, c. 2. p. 17. (Works, v. 1. pp. 134, seqq.) At great length. — Item, Comment. in Mic. 5. 2. (Works, ibid. at end of the Commentary, p. 42.) These words being, &c.— See also Dr. Hammond on Mat. 2, 6. (Works, v. 3. p. 11.) But Mr. Edward Pocock, a great master of the Oriental languages, &c.—Also Hottinger, Smegma Orientale, c. 5.

nifies both *little* and *great:* and as in some places, where the sense requires it, it ought to be translated *little,* so here in this place it ought to be translated *great.* For so St. Matthew (2, 6,) quotes it: "Thou, Bethlehem, art not the least," that is, art very great, "among the princes of Judah, &c." Which shows that the word *tsair,* in Micah, was understood by the Evangelist to signify *great,* and therefore ought now to be so translated; as learned men now, since this discovery has been made, do generally agree.

Now if the Dissenters' rule be true, that no one can, without a small lie, give assent and consent to any book which contains any the least mistake in it, how shall those who are convinced by Dr. Pocock's reasons that the forementioned passage is wrong translated, give their assent and consent to the present translation? Or must neither the Church nor Dissenters use the Bible in their assemblies till they can have a translation free from all manner of mistakes? And where shall we have such an infallible translation? Will Dissenters of any denomination undertake to make it? Or will they excuse every minister from reading the Bible in the church till they have done it? If there be some little mistakes in the present translation, why do they not object against it as well as the Liturgy, and set immediately about a new one; and leave it to men's censures when they have done, and to every man's liberty that can find any faults in it, to assent or not assent, use or not use it, at his pleasure? There is no one but is sensible how dangerous and absurd the consequences of such a liberty as this would be: and yet the reason is as strong against the present translation of the Bible as against the Liturgy for having a supposed mistake in one of its rules for finding out Easter. If nothing else can convince men, yet I hope this may; that it is dangerous to strain *assent* and *consent* too high, lest at last they come to this pass, that they cannot assent to the Bible itself, as ordered to be read in the church, in any human translation.

(p. 73.) Huc referunt vexatum illum locum Mic. 5, 2. coll. cum Matth. 2, 6. &c.—Also Frischmuth, Dissert. de Mic. et Matth., cited by Mr. La Cene, Projet d'une Nouvelle Version: *(p. 166.)* Les autres, comme Pocock, Hottinger, et Frischmuth, veulent que le mot Hébreu *tsagnir* signifie *être grand* et *être petit,* et qu'il faut traduire dans Michée *Vous êtes grande Bethlehem.* ED.]

CHAP. IX.

Of the Confession and Absolution, as used in the Church of England; and of kneeling and standing in divine service.

Come we now to the several parts of the Liturgy; where the first thing is, the General Confession 'to be said of the whole congregation after the minister, all kneeling.' There are some who except against the shortness of this Confession; which, if it be any fault, is equally chargeable on the Confession in Calvin's Liturgy, used by all the French Church, which, for the sake of those who never heard it, I think it not improper here to transcribe out of Calvin's works[87]: 'O Lord God, Eternal and Almighty Father, we acknowledge and confess before thy sacred majesty, that we are miserable sinners, conceived and born in sin and iniquity; prone to evil, and indisposed to every good work; and that being vicious, we make no end of transgressing thy holy commandments. Hereby we call destruction upon ourselves from thy just judgment. But yet, O Lord, we are heartily sorry for having offended thee, and we condemn ourselves and sins by true repentance, desiring thy grace may relieve our misery. Therefore, O God, merciful Father, vouchsafe us thy mercy in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Blot out our sins, and purge away all our filth, and daily increase in us the gifts of thy Holy Spirit: that we, acknowledging our iniquity from the bottom of our hearts, may more and more displease ourselves,

[87] Form. Prec. Eccles. (Oper. t. 8. p. 29.) Domine Deus, Pater Æterne et Omnipotens, agnoscimus et ingenue profitemur apud sanctam majestatem tuam, nos miseros peccatores esse, conceptos et natos in iniquitate et pravitate; ad nequitiam proclives, ad omne autem bonum opus inutiles; nosque, ut vitiosi sumus, nullum transgrediendi sancta tua mandata finem facere. Quo fit, ut exitium a justo judicio tuo nobis accersamus. Attamen, Domine, anxie gemimus, quod te offenderimus, ac nos vitiaque nostra damnamus, cum vera pœnitentia, optantes ut gratia tua nostræ succurrat miseriæ. Tua igitur nos misericordia dignare, Deus et Pater clementissime ac summe misericors, in nomine Filii tui Jesu Christi, Domini nostri; et vitia nostra delens, omnesque sordes nostras abluens, in dies dona Sancti tui Spiritus nobis adauge; ut corde intimo iniquitatem nostram agnoscentes, magis ac magis nobis displiceamus, atque ita ad veram pœnitentiam stimulemur: hæc autem, nos cum omnibus peccatis mortificans, fructus justitiæ et innocentiæ tibi gratos producat: per illum ipsum Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum.

and be excited to true repentance; which, mortifying us and all our sins, may produce in us the fruits of righteousness and innocence, acceptable unto thee: through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.'

It is true the whole congregation is not obliged to say this confession after the minister, as we do, but only to go along with him in their minds: but the difference in this circumstance is so very inconsiderable, that they must have a very great inclination to dispute that can raise any controversy about it.

As to the posture of kneeling, that is precisely enjoined in the French Church to all people, without respect of quality or persons. 'That great irreverence,' says their Book of Discipline [88], 'which is found in divers persons, who at public and private prayers do neither uncover their heads nor bow their knees, shall be reformed, which is a matter repugnant unto piety, and giveth suspicion of pride, and doth scandalize them that fear God. Wherefore all pastors shall be advised, as also elders and heads of families, carefully to oversee that in time of prayer all persons, without exception or acceptation, do evidence by those exterior signs the inward humility of their hearts and homage which they yield to God; unless any one be hindered from so doing by sickness or otherwise.'

Now compare this with our rubric and Eighteenth Canon, which says, 'No man shall cover his head in the church or chapel in the time of divine service, except he have some infirmity. And all manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees when the General Confession, Litany, and other prayers are read.' If any one censures our Church for these rules of decency, he may see himself more severely condemned by the Discipline of the French Church.

Next for the Absolution. I own Calvin's Liturgy has no such form in it: but he himself says it was an omission in him at first, and a defect in his Liturgy, which he afterwards would have rectified and amended, but could not. He makes this ingenuous confession in one of his Epistles. 'There is none of us,' says he [89], 'but must acknowledge it to be very

[88] Ch. 10. art. 1. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 43.)

[89] Ep. ad Quæst. de Quibusd. Ritib. Eccles. (Oper. t. 9. p. 206.) Confessioni publicæ adjungere aliquam promissionem, quæ peccato-

useful, that after the General Confession some remarkable promise of Scripture should follow, whereby sinners might be raised to the hopes of pardon and reconciliation. And I would have introduced this custom from the beginning, but some fearing that the novelty of it would give offence, I was over easy in yielding to them; so the thing was omitted. And now it would not be seasonable to make any change; because the greatest part of our people begin to rise up before we come to the end of the Confession.' Therefore he advises those he writes to, whilst they had it in their power, to accustom their people to an Absolution as well as a Confession [90].

Nay, I must do that justice to Calvin here, by the way, to say, that he was no enemy to private absolution neither, as used in the Church of England. For in one of his answers to Westphalus he thus expresses his mind about it [91]: 'I have no intent to deny the usefulness of private absolution; but as I commend it in several places of my writings, provided the use be left to men's liberty, and free from superstition, so to bind men's consciences by a law to it, is neither lawful nor expedient.'

Here we have Calvin's judgment, fully and entirely, for the usefulness both of public and private absolution. He owns it to be a defect in his Liturgy that it wants a public absolution. But the French Church took care to supply this defect in some measure; and as far as they could without hazarding the peace of their congregations. For the second Synod of Paris, 1565, made this canon [92]: 'That such churches as were accustomed upon sacrament-days, or other Sabbaths, after the confession of sins, to pronounce a general absolution, may, if they please, continue in it: but where this custom is not introduced, the synod adviseth the churches not in the least

res ad spem veniæ et reconciliationis erigat, nemo nostrum est, qui non agnoscat utilissimum esse. Atque ab initio hunc morum inducere volui; sed, cum offensionem quidam ex novitate metuerent, nimium facilis fui ad cedendum.

[90] Ibid. (p. ead.) Quo magis optamus, dum vobis integrum est, populum vestrum ad utrumque assuefieri.

[91] Defens. Secund. ad Westphal. (Oper. t. 8. p. 678.) Privata absolutio quam sit utilis negare mihi propositum non est. Sed quemadmodum pluribus Scriptorum meorum locis ejus usum, modo liber sit et superstitione purus sit, commendo: ita lege obstringi conscientias neque fas est, neque etiam expedit.

[92] Ch. 9. art. 17. (Q. v. 1. p. 64. A. v. 1. p. 67.)

to admit it, because of the dangerous consequences which may ensue.'

They approve the thing, and encourage it where it was in use already, but thought it dangerous to offer at any alteration where it was not; for fear the novelty might give offence, or occasion some disturbance. Whence it appears that it was not choice, but necessity, that made both Calvin and the French Church omit the inserting a public Absolution into their Liturgy. They did not dislike the thing, but had no favourable opportunity, as the Church of England had, to introduce it.

As for the custom of the minister's standing up at the absolution and some other prayers, as the rubric appoints, I observe the same practice to be enjoined in some cases in the French Church. For in the Form of Ordination appointed by the Synod of St. Maixant[93], 1609, it is expressly ordered, 'that the minister who ordains shall rise up when he comes to the consecration-prayer, and repeat that standing.' And probably those Churches which use the Absolution do it in the same posture, as also the Creed, &c.: but I can say nothing positively of these, for I find no express canon or rubric about what posture they are to be said in.

CHAP. X.

That the French Church esteems the Lord's Prayer a form of prayer, and as such frequently uses it in divine service.

Two things are commonly said against the use of the Lord's Prayer in our Church. 1. That we use it as a form. 2. That we repeat it too often in divine service.

To the first objection Chamier answers copiously, that our Saviour gave it to his disciples as a form; that they used it as a form in their daily prayers, as did also the whole Primitive Church; which he proves from the testimonies of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Austin. And hence he takes occasion to prove against his Popish adversary, Gerard[1], that the Virgin Mary was not free from sin, because she used the Lord's Prayer with the Apostles. 'It is reasonable to believe,' says he[2],

[93] Ch. 3. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 314. A. v. 1. p. 354.)

[1] [See several of his objections in Chamier, where cited in the following note. ED.]

[2] Panstrat. De Peccat. Origin.

'that the Holy Virgin prayed to God in the most exquisite manner: but there is no better manner of praying to God than that which Christ delivered. As Cyprian[3] says, *What prayer can be more spiritual than that which was given us by Christ, who also gives us the Holy Spirit? What can be more true prayer before God than that which was uttered from the mouth of his Son, who is truth itself?* Secondly, it is plain from St. Luke that Mary prayed with the rest of the disciples, (Acts 1, 14,) *These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus.* Now, says he, *Si orabant una, ergo communis erat omnibus formula. If they prayed together, they had all one common form.* Thirdly, St. Austin says, *that it is necessary not only for the faithful in general, but for every one in particular, to use the prayer which our Lord gave to his disciples.*' These are Chamier's arguments to prove that the Virgin Mary, as well as all other persons, were obliged to use the Lord's Prayer.

Against this his Popish adversary urged, 1. 'That it could not be proved out of Scripture or any ancient writer that ever the Virgin Mary used the Lord's Prayer.' 2. 'The Lord's Prayer was made for the sake of the rude and ignorant, that knew not how to pray. But the Virgin Mary was taught of God from her infancy to pray, and had forms of prayer of her own.' To the first he answers[4], 'That it was false that it

l. 5. c. 12. n. 10. (t. 3. p. 147 b.)... Quia consentaneum est Virginem recte, immo optime, esse precatam Deum: est autem certum, nullam esse meliorem rationem precandi Deum, quam quæ a Christo est tradita. Cyprianus de Oratione: *Quæ potest esse magis spiritualis oratio, quam quæ vere a Christo nobis data est, a quo nobis et Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ vera magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ a Filio, qui est Veritas, de ejus ore prolata est?*.... Secundo constat, Mariam orasse cum reliquis discipulis, teste Luca: (Act. 1, 14.) *Hi omnes concorditer perdurabant in oratione et deprecatione cum uxoribus et Maria matre Jesu et cum ipsius fratribus.* Si orabant una, ergo communis omnibus fuit formula. Tertio, quia Augustinus (De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, l. 2. c. 24.) ait, *Non tantum universaliter fidelibus omnibus, verum etiam singulis, esse orationem Dominicam necessariam, quam tradidit discipulis suis.*

[3] [De Orat. Dom. juxt. Ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682. t. 1. p. 139. Ed.]

[4] Panstrat. De Peccat. Origin. l. 5. c. 12. n. 12. (p. 147 f.).. Falsum sumit Gerardus. Nam ex Scripturis concluditur id ipsum, discipuli orarunt dicentes, *Pater noster;* ea propositio major constat Evangelistis testibus. At Maria oravit cum discipulis: id ipsum constat ex Actis. Ergo conclusio, Maria oravit dicens, *Pater noster*, probata est ex Scripturis.—Ibid. n. 13. (g.) Ora-

could not be proved out of Scripture that the Virgin Mary did use the Lord's Prayer: for she prayed with the disciples, and the disciples prayed, saying, *Our Father;* therefore she also prayed, saying, *Our Father.*' To the second he answers[5], 'That the Lord's Prayer was made for the simple and ignorant indeed, but in the same manner as David says the whole Word of God was written, *to give light and understanding to the simple,* (Psal. 19,) that is, so to instruct the simple as that it should be not only useful, but necessary to the greatest proficients also.'

So far was this learned Frenchman from having that contemptible notion of the Lord's Prayer as a form which some have, that with St. Austin and the rest of the Primitive Church he thought it necessary to be used as a form both in church-assemblies and by every private Christian.

Rivet was of the same mind: for among other arguments to prove the lawfulness and expediency of set forms, he urges this; that Christ taught his own disciples a form of prayer[6]: 'It is made a question by some whether set forms of prayer be lawful to be used in public or in private? But we hold that set forms, if they be pronounced with due attention of mind, are not only lawful, but very profitable also; because every Christian is not able to conceive new prayers with such decency

tionem Dominicam compositam esse in rudiorum gratiam, intelligendum, vel quomodo totum verbum Dei institutum est, ut erudiat imperitos, (Psalm. 19.) nempe ita, ut imperitos erudiat, et provectis sit non tantum utile sed et necessarium: vel ut elementa literarum ita rudioribus accommodentur, ut provectioribus sint inutilia. Illo modo conceditur, hanc orationem fuisse ab initio compositam, sed isto negatur.

[6] See his *Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ,* (disput. 36, n. 33,) where we have the judgment of the Dutch and French divines together, (p. 467.) Quæri solet, utrum conceptis precationum formulis, publice aut privatim uti liceat. Nos, si modo cum debita animi attentione pronuntientur, non tantum licitas, sed et valde utiles esse contendimus; quia novas κατὰ τὸ πρέπον concipere cuivis Christiano datum non est, et attentio auditorum in magnis conventibus per usitatas formulas non parum juvatur. Unde et Deus ipse benedictionum formam sacerdotibus, in veteri testamento, præscripsit. (Num. 6, 24.) Immo Christus, in cruce pendens, deprecationis formam, a Davide tanquam typo antea observata, usus est, Matth. 27, 46; et discipuli Christi (Luc. 11, 2,) rogaverunt Christum, ut doceret ipsos precari, prout Joannes docuerat discipulos suos: quibus a Christo responsum est, *Quum precamini, dicite, Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, &c.* Ex quibus verborum circumstantiis manifestum est, precationem hanc Christi non esse tantum recte precandi normam, sed insuper quoque rite precandi formam: sicuti quoque tota vetusta ecclesia id semper extra controversiam statuit.

as is fitting, and the attention of the hearers in great assemblies is not a little helped by accustomed forms. Upon which account God himself prescribed a form of benediction to be used by the priests in the Old Testament, Num. 6, 24. And Christ upon the cross used a form of deprecation, which David, his type, had used before him, Matt. 27, 46. The disciples also, Luke 11, 2, desired him to teach them to pray, as John taught his disciples: to whom Christ gave this answer; "When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c." From the circumstances of which words it is evident that this prayer of Christ is not only a rule of praying aright, but also a form of prayer to be ordinarily used; as without all controversy the whole Primitive Church ever esteemed it to be.'

What they observe of the Primitive Church is so very true, that I dare undertake to prove that for 1500 years together none ever disliked the use of the Lord's Prayer but only the Pelagians; and they did not wholly reject the use of it neither, nor dislike it because it was a form, but for another reason; because it contradicted one of their principal tenets, which was, 'that some men were so perfect in this world that they needed not to pray to God for the forgiveness of their own sins, but only for the sins of others.' In regard to which tenet they could have wished that the use of the Lord's Prayer had been wholly laid aside; but because it was so generally used by the whole Catholic Church, they despaired of gaining that point; and therefore continued to use it, contenting themselves with that perverse gloss put upon the fifth petition, that they prayed not for forgiveness of their own sins, but for others; as appears from the Council of Milevis[7] and the African Code[8], where their errors are condemned.

I hope none now dislike the use of the Lord's Prayer upon the same principle: but, however, to reject it upon any principle is a great fault; and such an one as is condemned by the whole Catholic Church, and in particular by the reformed Church of France.

[7] C. 7. (CC. t. 2. p. 1539 e.).... Ut non pro seipsis hoc dicant, quia non est eis jam necessaria ista petitio, sed pro aliis, qui sunt in suo populo peccatores, &c. (ibid. p. 1124 e.) Quod in Oratione Dominica sancti pro se dicant, Dimitte, &c.—Ibid. (p. 1125 c.) Quod veraciter a sanctis dicatur, Dimitte, &c.

[8] CC. 116, 117. [al. 115, 116.]

But it is said our Church enjoins the use of the Lord's Prayer too often, and that is the thing that offends so many.

To which I answer, first, that, admit it were not so commodious as they could wish, yet all inconveniences do not make a Liturgy unlawful, or justify separation from it, as I shall fully prove upon the principles of the French Church. Secondly, our Church seldom enjoins the use of it above once or twice in any particular office; and so much is commonly done in the French Church. Their ordinary prayer both before and after sermon, as well morning as evening, concludes with it. So does also their prayer at infant-baptism; as also the prayer at baptism of adult persons, appointed by the last Synod of Charenton [9], where they say it is Christ's own appointment, who hath commanded us to call upon God, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven, &c."

So that supposing different offices to be used, it must of necessity follow that the Lord's Prayer will be often repeated. Besides which, Dr. Durel has observed [10], that the ministers commonly say it three times over whilst they continue in the pulpit, both in the French and Dutch Churches.

In Calvin's Liturgy used at Geneva it occurs almost in every office [11]. First, in the minister's own prayer before sermon he might use it if he pleased. Secondly, in the long prayer prescribed to be used after sermon, there is a kind of paraphrase made of it to conclude with [12]. Thirdly, in the form of extraordinary supplications for fast-days it is inserted verbatim into the middle of the prayer after sermon. And, fourthly, it is used also to conclude the prayer of consecration at infant-baptism.

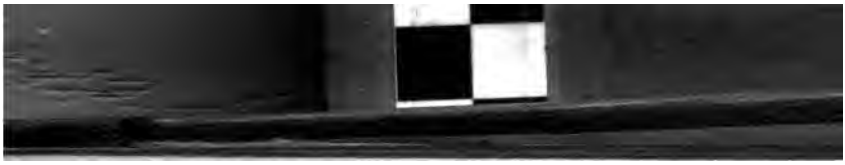
So that the difference betwixt the French and English Church in this matter is so small, that whoever objects against the one will find himself obliged to condemn the other also. And when that is done, it will never justify the practice of those who deny the Lord's Prayer to be a form, and wholly

[9] Charent. 3, 1645, ch. 9, near the end of Art. 10. (Q. v. 2. p. 452. A. v. 2. p. 660, near the close of Art. 1.)

[10] Conformity of the Reformed Churches, &c., s. 1. n. 40. (p. 36.) The Lord's Prayer is the conclusion of all other, and therefore is repeated many times. And so in the Reformed Churches of France, the minister doth say it commonly three times over, before he cometh down from the pulpit, &c.

[11] Form. Prec. Eccles. (Oper. t. 8. pp. 29, 32, 33.)

[12] I am credibly informed that at Charenton, instead of the paraphrase, the ministers used to repeat the prayer only as a form.



reject the use of it. Mr. Capel [or Cappel] reckons those no better than madmen, whose zeal against set forms transports them to such an excess[13]: 'Who can have patience to bear, and not rather abhor their madness, who boast that they have never, or not for many years repeated the Lord's Prayer, and give God thanks upon that account? Do they think Christ taught his disciples that prayer that they should never use it, nor offer it to God? Or do they think the Apostles never used it, but only as a rule and example to compose their own prayers by? How then come all ecclesiastical writers and doctors of the Primitive Church to tell us, that the Apostles consecrated the eucharist only with this prayer, and that the whole Primitive Church followed their example? And how is it that in all Protestant Churches, when we cannot particularly enumerate all our wants in our own prayers, we think it necessary to conclude them with that prayer, which comprehends in short whatever things are omitted in our own? Upon which account we commonly usher it in with this form of words; *These things, O Lord, and whatever else thou knowest to be necessary for us, we ask of thee, in the name of Christ, in that form of prayer which he himself hath taught us, Our Father, &c.*

This both vindicates the necessary use of the Lord's Prayer, and the frequent use of it; that is, as often as we make any petitions of our own, or if we divide our service into different

[13] Vid. ap. Thes. Salmur. Part. 3. Disput. 47. De Liturgia, nn. 12, 13. (p. 659.) At quis illorum furorem ferat, ac non potius exsecretur, qui jactant se vel nunquam, vel per multos annos, orationem Dominicam non recitasse, eoque nomine Deo se gratias multas habere gloriantur? Quasi vero Christus Apostolos suos eam orationem docuerit, ut nunquam ea recitaretur, sed duntaxat ut ea compendiose complecteretur ea omnia, quæ nobis sunt a Deo petenda. Putantne ergo, Apostolos illam nunquam recitasse, sed preces suas, duntaxat ad illius normam et exemplar aliis verbis conceptas, ad Deum fudisse? Quid ergo est, quod omnes ecclesiastici scriptores et primitivæ ecclesiæ doctores dicunt, Apostolos sola orationis Dominicæ recitatione panem et vinum eucharistiæ consecrasse, quod et ab universa ecclesia Christiana ad eorum exemplum postmodum factum est? Quid? quod cum omnia, quæ nobis sunt necessaria, non possumus sigillatim et particulatim precibus nostris ordinariis explicare, (longum enim et infinitum illud esset,) consentaneum et plane necessarium est, ut eas oratione ista concludamus, ut, quæ in illis omissa sunt, breviter et summatim, *συλλήβδην*, a Deo postulemus, quo spectat formula illa a Reformatis usurpata ante illius orationis recitationem; *Hæc et alia quæ nosti, Domine, nobis esse necessaria, a te postulamus in nomine Christi, ea orationis formula, quam Ipse nos docuit, Pater noster, &c.*

parts we may use the Lord's Prayer in each part; and that is agreeable to the custom of the French Church, and perhaps all other Protestant Churches also.

CHAP. XI.

Of the use of the Apostles' Creed in the French Church.

Concerning this Creed I observe four things in the practice of the French Church.

1. That they give it the name of *the Apostles' Creed*, as we do in our Liturgy: their Confession styles it, *Symbolum Apostolicum, the Apostolical Creed*[14]. As also their Liturgy and Catechism, wherever they speak of it.

2. They agree with our Church as to what concerns the reason of this name. 'It is commonly called *the Apostles' Creed*,' says their Catechism[15], 'because it has ever been received among the faithful from the foundation of the Church; and because it was either taken from the mouths of the Apostles, or collected faithfully out of their writings.' So that the design either of the English or French Church in giving it the name of *the Apostles' Creed*, was not to tie men up in the strictest sense to believe it to be of the Apostles' immediate composing; but to take it for an orthodox and primitive summary of faith, either delivered by the Apostles themselves, or collected out of their writings by their immediate successors. A liberty is granted to either of these opinions, because neither of them derogates from the faith itself.

3. I observe that the French Church uses it in the same holy offices as the Church of England does; as in her Form of Infant-baptism composed by Calvin; in her Form of Baptism of Adult Persons composed by the Synod of Charenton, and in her usual Form of Public Prayers on the Lord's Day. The words of their Liturgy after morning prayer are, *Post hæc recitatur Apostolorum Symbolum: Then shall be rehearsed the Apostles' Creed.*

And yet here we may note that both the French and English Church in this last point differ from the practice of

[14] Art. 5. See n. 18, following.

[15] Calvin. Catechism. (Oper. t. 8. p. 12.) Eam vulgo *Symbolum Apostolorum* vocant, quod ab initio ecclesiæ recepta fuerit inter omnes pios; et quod vel ab ore Apostolorum excerpta fuerit, vel ex eorum scriptis fideliter collecta.

the Primitive Church: for the Primitive Church for near six hundred years made no other public use of the Creed in divine service but only in catechizing, and as a form of professing their faith at baptism; as Hamon L'Estrange, and Vossius, and others have made it appear. Whence it follows, that primitive practice was no rule in indifferent matters, either to the French or English Church, but they made use of their own power and liberty in appointing such things as they thought most expedient and meet for edification: and therefore this custom of repeating the Creed as a part of the public Liturgy, though new in comparison, being found to be a most useful and edifying practice, was thought fit to be retained in the liturgies of all Protestant Churches. And Mr. Baxter himself is so far from objecting against the use of it, that in his Reformation of the English Liturgy he orders all the three Creeds to be read[16]: 'Next let one of the Creeds be read by the minister, saying, In the profession of this holy Christian faith we are here assembled. I believe in God the Father, &c. I believe in one God, &c. And sometimes Athanasius's Creed.'

4. But to return to the French Church; I observe in the last place, that though they do not enjoin the people to stand up and bear their part in the repetition of the Creed, yet they have no objection against this. For in many cases they allow of the standing posture in time of divine worship. As in their Form of Ordination, I have shown already that the minister who ordains is obliged to pray standing at the foot of the pulpit: and I shall show hereafter, that all the people are obliged to come up and receive the communion standing before the communion-table. And I have been informed, from those who are sufficiently acquainted with their practice, that they stand up whilst they sing the last verse of the 118th Psalm, and the prayer at the end of the Ten Commandments: and as to standing up at the Creed, it is what many of the people do, and all of them may do if they please, though some choose to continue kneeling. For the minister, who in his prayer closes his hands together as a posture proper for that office, when he comes to recite the Creed, unfolds them, and by such change of posture intimates them to be at liberty to stand up if they please.

[16] Petition, &c. (p. 26.)

CHAP. XII.

That the French Church approves of the Athanasian Creed, and requires assent and consent unto it.

One reason why some cannot subscribe the Articles and the Liturgy is, because they command the belief and use of the Athanasian Creed. The Eighth Article says, 'It ought to be thoroughly received and believed, because it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.' And the rubric in the Liturgy, upon certain days, enjoins the reading of it. Now they say[17], 'they cannot subscribe entirely to the belief or use of it, because of the damnatory clauses that are contained therein.'

But this objection will hold as well against subscribing the French Confession. For the Fifth Article is in these words[18], 'We therefore approve of those three Creeds, the Apostolical, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; because they are agreeable to the written Word of God.' Does the Article of the Church of England say any more than this? And may we not read in the church what is agreeable to the Word of God, if our rubric enjoins it?

I must here note again, what I have proved at large before, that no minister could be ordained in France till he had first subscribed this Confession of Faith, whereof that article about the Athanasian Creed is one: so that they who scruple conformity upon this account here must have been nonconformists in the Church of France also.

If any are offended further with our Articles or Liturgy, because they call this Creed *Athanasius's Creed*, they are to consider that the Church designed not to determine any thing thereby, to oblige men to take it for a Creed of Athanasius's composing, but only to give it a name by which it might be distinguished from the other Creeds; as is done in all other Confessions: for the French calls it *Symbolum Athanasianum*, Art. 5; the Helvetic, *Symbolum Athanasii*, Art. 2; as also the Belgic, *Symbolum Athanasii*, Art. 9; and the Saxon,

[17] English Nonconformity, ch. 40. point 37. (p. 145.)

[18] Vid. art. 5. in fin. ap. 7. Corp. Confess. (part. 1. p. 100.) Quamobrem tria illa Symbola, nempe Apostolicum, Nicænum, et Athanasianum idcirco approbamus, quod sint verbo Dei scripto consentanea.

Symbolum Athanasianum, Art. 1. Yet all that is designed by any of these Confessions is only that men should take this for an orthodox Creed, without tying them up to believe Athanasius to be the author of it: which being a matter purely historical, is left to the discussion of learned men to determine for or against it, as they see reasons to convince them. And therefore though Bishop Andrews and Rivet say they believe it to be Athanasius's own composure, yet it is no crime in Bishop Usher, or Bishop Pearson, Hamon L'Estrange, or Dr. Cave, to dissent from them, and ascribe it to a much later and a Latin author[19]. The Church is not concerned in this dispute, so long as the Creed itself is allowed to be the orthodox: and in that they are all agreed.

Nay, I must add that Mr. Baxter himself was once agreed with the Church about the use of this Creed, however in his last books his spirit came to be embittered against it. For in his Petition for Peace and Reformation of the Liturgy[20], he orders the Athanasian Creed to be read sometimes instead of the other. Surely then at that time, when he drew up the form of a New Liturgy to be presented to the bishops in 1661, he had none of these objections against the damnatory clauses in it: and if he had considered that just apology, which Dr. Falkner[21] and some others have made for it, he would never have shown himself so weak as to have gratified the Socinians with unreasonable scruples against it.

CHAP. XIII.

That the French Church does not receive the communion sitting, but requires all communicants to receive it in another posture.

THERE are two sorts of persons who dispute with the Church of England about kneeling at the communion. Some absolutely and universally condemn the posture, as sinful and unlawful; because it is a deviation from the practice and example

[19] Viz. Vigilius Tapsensis, an African bishop, who lived in the latter end of the fifth century, [anno 484,] in the time of the Vandalic Arian persecution. [See Cave, Hist. Liter., under *Vigilius Gente Afer*, &c. Particularly under *Athanasius*, (Ed. Basil. t. 1. p. 196.) where he places it among the *Spuria*, and gives his reasons for ascribing it to Vigilius. ED.]

[20] (P. 26.)

[21] See his Libertas Ecclesiastica, ch. 4. s. 4. n. 2. (p. 145.) The reading the Athanasian Creed, &c.

of Christ, who administered the communion to his disciples sitting; which therefore they say is the only lawful posture. Others are not altogether so rigid as this, but say, they believe it to be lawful to receive the eucharist kneeling, and, upon occasion, themselves do so receive it; but their quarrel at the Liturgy and Canon is, for rejecting those from communion who dare not kneel in the act of receiving: of this latter sort of objectors Mr. Baxter is the principal. 'I myself,' says he[23], 'am for the lawfulness of organs, rails, and coming up to them; and for the lawfulness of kneeling when we sing the Psalms, or read the Scripture, or hear the preacher: but I am not for the lawfulness of hanging or damning men that herein are not of my mind; nor for turning unnecessary things, because they are lawful, into conditions ..... of church-communion, and making kneeling necessary to salvation, &c.'

Now, whatever there is in either of these charges, they affect the French Church as much as they do the Church of England. For though the French Church does not receive the communion kneeling, yet neither, first, does she condemn kneeling as unlawful; nor, secondly, does she use sitting, but a contrary posture, that is, standing; which is as much a deviation from the example of Christ as kneeling is; nor, thirdly, does she admit any to communion but such as receive in that posture and manner as her rubrics and canons appoint. So that if there be any force in the arguments urged against the Church of England, they equally hold against the Church of France; or if the one may be justified, so may the other. Let us therefore examine these particulars.

That, first, the French Church condemns not kneeling as unlawful appears from this, that she allows it lawful to communicate with the English, Lutheran, and Polonian Churches; all which receive the communion kneeling and in no other posture. Besides, Beza says[24], 'that kneeling at the communion hath a show of godly and Christian reverence, and therefore might be used with benefit heretofore.' Only he thinks, 'that since bread-worship came in at this door, those Churches did well who received another gesture.' However, he condemns

[23] English Nonconformity, ch. 14. point 11. (p. 77.)

[24] Ep. 12. (p. 109.) Geniculatio denique, dum symbola accipiuntur, speciem quidem habet piæ ac Christianæ venerationis, &c.

none that still retain it: for, he says, it is not idolatrous in itself; and therefore he determines of it, as of many other ceremonies, 'that it is not of that moment as that ministers should leave their office, or the people forsake the communion, because of it.'

Peter Martyr, who was sometime a minister of the French Church, goes a little further, and says[25], 'It is not material whether we receive the Lord's supper standing, sitting, or kneeling, so long as the institution of Christ be observed, and all occasion of superstition be cut off.'

And in his Defence of the Eucharist against Gardiner, he says[26], 'Adoration may be used in time of receiving, provided our minds be applied, not to the elements, but to the thing signified. For then, if we adore the Lord by kneeling, we do not thereby testify any real or corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.'

He tells us in another place[27], 'that many men piously bow the knee and worship when they hear those words of the Gospel, *And the Word was made flesh:* and yet we may not say they worship the words, but the thing signified.' 'So,' says he[28], 'what hinders but that we may do the same, when we receive the eucharist; provided we worship not the external signs, but the thing signified by them.'

This learned man did not think kneeling so superstitious as some would make it; nor sitting so necessary by any command or example of Christ, but that any other decent posture would as well comport with the end of the institution.

And indeed this was always the judgment of all knowing men in the French Church, that the posture of receiving was none of those things which are of the substance of the sacra-

[25] Loc. Comm. class. 2. c. 4. n. 39. (p. 143. 1.) Nihil alioqui interest, si cœnæ Dominicæ sacramentum stantes aut sedentes aut genibus flexis percipiamus, modo institutum Domini conservetur, et occasio superstitionibus præcludatur.

[26] De Eucharist. part. 1. object. 1. fol. 5. (Ed. Tigur. 1559. p. 6.) Si mens non ad symbola, sed ad significata referatur, potest adoratio scite interponi.... Quare quum percipiuntur sacramenta, audiunturque promissiones ad ea spectantes, si Dominum adoremus, non propterea illius realem corporalemque præsentiam testamur.

[27] Loc. Comm. class. 4. c. 10. n. 50. (p. 610 a. 2.) Multi enim pie genua flectunt et adorant, illis verbis Evangelii auditis, *Et Verbum caro factum est:* nec tamen ipsa verba dicenda sunt adorari, verum significata.

[28] Ibid. (a. 5.) Quod idem hic fieri quid prohibet, modo non adorentur symbola, sed quod per illa significatur?

ment, or which we are precisely bound to follow the example of Christ in; but an accidental circumstance left to the liberty of the Church, as many other things are, to determine as she sees most useful and expedient. Take the testimony of one, which may stand for the judgment of the whole Church, because his works were approved by two or three national synods; that is, the learned Chamier, who in his books *De Eucharistia*, thus answers the Popish argument for mixing water with wine, taken from the example of Christ. 'It follows not,' says he[29], 'that because Christ did it, therefore we are bound to do the same; for he washed his disciples' feet at supper, but no man thinks we are bound to do so under pain of mortal sin. He consecrated at even and after supper; which now the Church of Rome forbids. Again, he consecrated lying at table; which custom is long ago laid aside, and observed by none. This gives us to understand, that every thing is not necessary to be done that Christ did only accidentally or occasionally, in celebrating the eucharist; but only such things as he did, *propter ipsius sacramenti plenitudinem, to make it a complete and perfect sacrament;* to which neither washing the feet, nor celebrating at even, nor lying at table, nor mixing water with the wine, do appertain.'

So again[30], 'All things are not necessary to be imitated that Christ did, when they are only circumstances of his actions. For instance, he celebrated the eucharist at even, after supper, lying at table, at the time of the Passover. In such things every Church is at liberty to act as she pleases.'

Who sees not by all this, that in the judgment of the French Church, sitting at table in the reception of the eucharist, is

[29] Panstrat. De Eucharist. l. 6. c. 3. n. 11. (t. 4. p. 312 a.) Respondes primum negari consequentiam. Nam in cœna lavit pedes Christus, et nemo tamen concludit, id faciendum sub pœna peccati mortalis. Immo consecravit vespere et post cœnam: quod tamen etiam prohibet ecclesia Romana. Rursus consecravit accumbens mensæ: quod jam pridem nemo facit. Antecedens ergo contrahendum, ut intelligantur et facienda in hujus sacramenti celebratione, quæ in eo facta sunt a Christo, non per accidens, sed propter ipsius sacramenti plenitudinem: ad quam neque lotio pertinet, neque vespera, neque accubitus, ac ne hæc quidem aquæ mistio.

[30] Ibid. l. 7. c. 15. n. 13. (p. 392 g.) Nam quæ Christus fecit, fatemur non omnia esse ejusmodi, ut necessario sint observanda: sed ea dicimus tantum narrari ut circumstantias actionis: exempli gratia, celebravit sub vesperam, et post cœnam, et accumbens, et ipsa die Paschæ. Horum igitur esto sane libera observatio.

none of those things which we are necessarily obliged to by the example of Christ, but only an accidental circumstance, which may be altered at the discretion of the Church? Accordingly the French Church used her liberty at the Reformation, and took standing at the eucharist as her ordinary receiving posture: and what is more, not only used standing, but enjoined it precisely, and forbad any to receive it sitting at the table, for the same reason that the Church of England forbids it, viz. that there might be a general uniformity in the Church. The words of the Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, are expressly these[31]: 'That hereafter there may be a general uniformity in the churches of this kingdom, in the administration of the Lord's supper, and all scruples by reason of difference and singularity, arising in weak but honest hearts, uncapable of distinguishing between the substance and circumstance of the sacred action, may be prevented; all pastors are enjoined to abstain from any new or private methods of their own:'.....among which, they forbid that of 'bringing the people up in ranks unto the table, there to sit or stand; whereas they ought to cause the faithful to pass one after another up unto it.'

Here I observe, they not only forbid men to receive the eucharist sitting in companies at the table as at a feast, which is the thing that is so much pleaded for among us, but they will not allow them to receive it in companies standing about the table neither; for they must come up singly one after another.

Now supposing any one should make a scruple at this, and object against receiving, standing singly, as varying from the example of Christ at the institution of the first supper: if there be any strength in the objection, does it not hold as well against the French Church as the Church of England? For standing is as different from sitting as kneeling is; and standing singly is something more. What then? Must the ministers give the communion to persons sitting in companies at the table, who dare not receive it otherwise? This the canon forbids; and they are upon their oath to observe the canon, and liable to suspension if they do otherwise. Where then is the difference betwixt their case and the ministers of the Church

[31] Ch. 6. art. 14. (Q. v. 1. p. 327. A. v. 1. p. 375.)

of England? The English rubric, and the Twenty-seventh Canon, which interprets the rubric, says, 'that no minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any but such as kneel, under pain of suspension.' And the French canon says[32], 'no minister shall give the communion to persons sitting in ranks at the table, but make them come up and receive standing singly one after another.' And the ministers are upon oath to observe this canon, and liable to censure if they transgress it. Where then, I say, is the difference? If kneeling be a deviation from the institution and example of Christ, standing is so too. If to enjoin kneeling be to add a new term of communion, to enjoin standing must be an imposition of the same nature: and Mr. Baxter's six arguments will hold as well against the French as the English posture. For he may say with equal truth, that their imposition of standing is a sin[33]: because, '1. It maketh new terms of church-communion. 2. It contradicts Christ's appointed terms, which require all Christians to receive each other in love and concord. 3. They must answer for depriving Christ's members of their right, as truly as if they oppressed widows and orphans. 4. They must answer for schismatical tearing of the Church by their engines. 5. For usurping a needless and hurtful dominion over men's faith and consciences by their church-legislation. 6. For using that office, which is made for the comfort and edifying of the faithful, to drive conscience and obedience to God out of the world, by making doubtful ensnaring impositions, &c.'

How would a French minister answer these arguments? why plainly by saying they were slanders, not arguments. For the requiring men to use the standing posture, was not to make any new term of communion. Otherwise it would be a new term of communion to require men to receive in a church, or in leavened bread, or in a morning, or on any other day besides the Passover, or in wine not mixed with water: for all these circumstances differ from our Saviour's practice at the first institution; yet they are enjoined by the French and all other

[32] See the last citation, as well as the preceding note.

[33] See English Nonconformity, ch. 14. point. 11. (p. 79.) The sin lieth in what I before said about refusing infant-baptism: 1. It maketh new terms, &c.

Protestant Churches; and no one can communicate with them that will not comply with these injunctions. But will any one say, all these are new terms of communion, or that they contradict Christ's appointed terms, or deprive Christ's members of their right, or schismatically tear the Church, or that they are an usurpation upon men's faith, or drive conscience and obedience out of the world; when they are only the determination of indifferent circumstances, which are left to the liberty of every Church?

If this be a good answer and apology for the French Church which enjoins standing, it will hold as well for the Church of England which enjoins kneeling; since their case is the same, and they must both stand or fall together.

But what if, after all, our Saviour celebrated the eucharist neither sitting, nor kneeling, nor standing, but in a different posture from all these, to wit, *lying along at table?* What then becomes of the argument from Christ's example? Does it not affect the Dissenters as much as the Church of England? And are not they concerned to answer their own argument as well as we? For if this be true, that Christ celebrated lying along, then sitting is as much a deviation from that posture as standing or kneeling is. If they ask, How it appears that Christ celebrated lying along rather than sitting? I refer them to those French authors who undertake to prove it against Cardinal Perron and such other Popish writers, that say our Saviour celebrated sitting, and that sitting is a posture of adoration.

Monsieur Daillé says[34], 'It is a thing confessed among learned men, and evidently proved by the Gospels, that the Apostles at the time when they received the eucharist with our Saviour did not sit, but lie along upon beds, as the custom then was.'

The same is asserted by Chamier[35], Rivet[36], and other

[34] De Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 2. (p. 227.) Jam vero Apostolos, quo tempore eucharistiam sumpserunt, non *sedisse*, sed in lectis, de sæculi istius more, semisupinos recubuisse, et Evangelia apertissime docent, et omnes eruditi confitentur.

[35] Panstrat. De Eucharist. l. 6. c. 3. n. 11. Item, l. 7. c. 15. n. 13. See before in this chapter, p. 148, nn. 29 and 30, preceding.

[36] Synop. Purior. Theolog. disput. 45. n. 12. (p. 622.).... Non sedentes, sed accumbentes lectulis, capitibus quidem introrsum, pedibus vero extrorsum repositis, ita ut in priorum sinum proximi fere recumberent.

writers of the French Church; who upon their principles, consonant to those of the Church of England, do rationally account for their Church's practice in using a different posture: because they say well 'that the posture of receiving is to be reckoned among the indifferent circumstances of the action, and not among those things which are of necessary prescription or observation; and therefore every Church has power to appoint what posture she thinks fit in her own discretion.' But Dissenters cannot thus account for their practice upon their principles: for if it be a necessary rule, as they say it is, to receive in the same posture which our Saviour used; and that be true which the French writers maintain, that he used not sitting, but lying along; then their practice contradicts their own rule, and they condemn themselves in going contrary to the example of Christ, whilst they think themselves obliged to follow it. And this is a further proof, that in this whole matter they differ as much both in principles and practice from the French Church, as they do from the Church of England.

CHAP. XIV.

That the French Church thinks it lawful to oblige all members of the Church to frequent communion under pain of excommunication.

The rubric at the end of the Communion-office requires every parishioner 'to communicate at least three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one:' and the 112th Canon enjoins 'the minister, churchwardens, quest-men, and assistants of every parish church and chapel, yearly, within forty days after Easter, to exhibit to the bishop or his chancellor the names and surnames of all the parishioners, as well men as women, who being of the age of sixteen years, received not the communion at Easter before.'

Mr. Baxter has ten reasons against this, which I shall not here repeat, but only observe by the by, with the learned Dr. Falkner, how nonconformity hath run its changes at such a variance, as if both the extremes were to be preferred to the middle way. Mr. Baxter thinks the Church has done too much in directing men to communicate, and ordering the minister to present those that neglect it. But both Mr. Cartwright, the chief opposer of the Liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's

time, and Didoclavius [37] the author of the *Altare Damascenum*, who was the most violent censurer thereof in King James's time, thought that too little was done herein: for both of them would have all who are in the Church's communion forced to receive the Lord's supper at stated times. Mr. Cartwright was for inflicting civil punishments on refusers; and both of them condemn those who abstain from the Lord's table out of fear, as guilty of superstition, and say they ought not to be borne with [38]. One might possibly give many other such instances out of the writings of our old nonconformists: but my business is to show the sense of the French Church in this matter.

And here I observe first of all, that the judgment of Beza was entirely conformable to the rule of the Church of England: for in his seventy-third Epistle [39] he gives this advice to a certain magistrate, 'that he should enjoin all men professing the same religion with himself, to frequent the Lord's supper, and they that should neglect it should be called before the consistory to answer for their contempt.' Their Book of Discipline has a canon to the same purpose [40], where it is ordered, 'that if any out of contempt refuse for a long time to communicate, they shall be cut off from the body of the Church.' And what they mean by contempt we may learn from other canons which speak of stated communions among them four times a year. Thus the fourteenth canon of the same chapter [41]: 'Although it hath not been the custom to administer the Lord's supper in the greatest part of our churches more than four times a year, yet it were to be desired that it might be oftener; because it is very profitable, &c., and the example

[37] [The pseudonyme of David Calderwood a native of Scotland. See the Index of Authors at the end of this volume under *Calderwood*. Ed.]

[38] See T. C. Reply, p. 117, and the Author of the *Altare Damascenum*, c. 10. cited by Dr. Falkner, in his *Libertas Ecclesiastica*, ch. 5. s. 1. n. 3. (p. 209.).... But both Mr. Cartwright, &c. [Both Cartwright and Calderwood were for coercing all church-members to receive the Lord's supper;—'even by civil punishments,' says the former, while the latter declares, '*statis temporibus omnes adigendi sunt*.' Ed.]

[39] Ep. 73. (p. 330.) Erit autem sedulo commonefaciendus.. det operam, ut unusquisque suos diligentius coërceat, ac nominatim edicat, ut quisquis eorum, qui eandem atque ipse religionem amplexi fuerint, cœnæ interesse neglexerit, causam ejus rei dicere in consistorio teneatur.

[40] Ch. 12. art. 11. (Quick, introduct. v. 1. p. 48.)

[41] Ibid. (p. 49.)

of the Primitive Church doth invite us to it. Therefore our national synods shall take that care and order in this matter, which is requisite to the welfare of our churches.'

The Synod of Paris, 1565, speaks to the same purpose[42]: 'Although in our churches the Lord's supper for the most part is administered only four times a year, yet the more frequent celebration of it is very desirable, due reverence in approaching it being always observed, &c.'

Here we see *four times a year* are insisted on as the received custom of all the churches, and more frequent celebration is commended, yet not precisely enjoined: but four times a year it was expected every member should communicate, else he was deemed guilty of a contempt of their discipline, and accordingly censured by the consistory of the Church, which had power to proceed even to excommunication. This is something more than our Church requires, both as to times and punishment; for she only requires three times a year, and says nothing of excommunication, but leaves the censure and manner of punishment to the bishop's discretion. However, Mr. Baxter thinks fit to say[43], 'that they are then to be excommunicated if they refuse, and to lie in gaol till they die, when taken by the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*:' though there is not a word of this either in the rubric or canon. And yet if it had been so, it is no more than is commonly done by the magistrates of Geneva, who imprison or banish, as they think fit, all incorrigible contemners of the orders of the Church.

I will end this chapter with two citations out of Calvin. In one of his Epistles he tells us he laboured hard in the beginning of the Reformation to have communions brought to once a month. 'I should be most pleased,' says he[44], 'to have a monthly communion, rather than have the people invited only four times a year, as now the custom is among us. When

[42] Ch. 11. art. 29. (Q. v. 1. p. 66. A. n. 6. v. 1. p. 70.)

[43] English Nonconformists, ch. 42. point 39. (p. 147.)

[44] Ep. ad Quæst. de Quibusd. Ritib. Eccles. (Oper. t. 9. p. 206.) Malimus tamen singulis mensibus invitari ecclesiam, quam quater duntaxat in singulos annos, ut apud nos fieri solet. Quum huc primum veni, *non* distribuebatur, nisi ter quotannis; et quidem ut inter cœnam Pentecostes et Natalis Christi septem toti menses intercederent. Mihi placebant singuli menses; sed quum minime persuaderem, satius visum est populi infirmitati ignoscere quam pertinacius contendere. Curavi tamen referri in Acta Publica, vitiosum esse morem nostrum, ut posteris facilior esset ac liberior correctio.

I first came hither it was administered only three times a year. I was for a communion once a month; but when I could not prevail, I thought it better to indulge a little the people's infirmity, than to contend overmuch about it. Nevertheless, I took care to have it entered upon record that this was an evil custom, to the end that posterity might with more ease and liberty correct it.'

In another place he pleads for a weekly communion, and says [45], 'It was not instituted to be received only once a year, as then the Popish custom was; but to be received frequently, in memory of our Saviour's passion, and for many other good ends,' which he there recounts. This was the practice of the Apostolical Church: they communicated once a week, (Acts 2, 42. 1 Cor. 11, 20.) and it continued so for some ages after, which he proves from many ancient canons, as those called *The Apostolical Canons*, the Councils of Antioch and Toledo, and the writings of St. Austin and St. Chrysostom, and concludes, '*that the custom of communicating only once a year was most certainly an invention of the Devil. Sane hæc consuetudo, quæ semel quotannis communicare jubet, certissimum est Diaboli inventum.*'

Can we think now Calvin would have complained of the English rubric for enjoining men three times a year to communicate, who says, 'the enjoining them but once only was the Devil's invention?' This was his quarrel with the Church of Rome for enjoining it no oftener than she did: sure then he would not blame the Church of England for prescribing it more frequently. He himself prescribed it four times a year,

[45] Instit. l. 4. c. 17. n. 43. (Oper. t. 9. p. 380.) ..... Sic administrari decentissime poterat [cœna Domini], si sæpissime et singulis ad minimum hebdomadibus proponeretur ecclesiæ.—Ibid. n. 44. (ibid.) Quæ de sacramento hoc hactenus disseruimus, abunde ostendunt, non institutum ideo fuisse, ut semel quotannis acciperetur, idque perfunctorie, ut nunc communiter moris est, verum, quo frequenti in usu Christianis omnibus esset, ut frequenti memoria passionem Christi repeterent: qua recordatione et fidem suam sustinerent ac roborarent, et sese ad confessionem laudis Deo canendam bonitatemque ejus prædicandam hortarentur, et qua postremo mutuam caritatem alerent et sibi etiam inter se testificarentur, cujus copulam in unitate corporis Christi viderent... Talem fuisse ecclesiæ apostolicæ usum Lucas in Actis commemorat, quum fideles ait perseverantes fuisse in doctrina Apostolorum, communicatione, fractione panis, et orationibus.... Hunc et apud Corinthios fuisse institutum ordinem satis ex Paulo conjicere licet, et multis postea sæculis in usu fuisse constat.

and would have enjoined a monthly communion, but was overborne in it. He commends the ancient practice of communicating weekly, and the ancient discipline which excommunicated all that refused it. He would have the ancient practice restored again, though not by the ancient discipline; for though it was proper for those times, yet he thinks it too severe for the present, and therefore would have men invited only, not compelled, to weekly communions. All which is exactly agreeable to the sense and practice of the Church of England, which encourages monthly and weekly communions, but compels none to them: she only requires men's attendance three times a year, upon pain of ecclesiastical censure.

CHAP. XV.

That the French Church uses a form of words at the delivery of the sacrament, and obliges every communicant to receive it only from the hands of the minister.

By the rubric of the Church of England all ministers are enjoined to deliver the elements to every communicant's hand, and to use a certain form of words, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.,' particularly to every one at the distribution. Now this is also censured by some as a thing contrary to the practice of Christ: nay, they say it is 'a studying to be wiser than our Master, and not to be obedient to him.' A heavy charge indeed if it were really true!

But here again Calvin and Beza express their dissent. Calvin says [46], 'Men ought not to contend about such matters as these; whether they shall take the elements into their own hands, or not; whether they shall divide them among themselves, or every one take the part which is given to them; whether they shall return the cup into the deacon's hands, or give it to their next neighbour; whether the bread shall be leavened or unleavened; the wine red or white: for these are indifferent things, and left to the liberty of the Church.'

[46] Institut. l. 4. c. 17. n. 43. (Oper. t. 9. p. 380.) Cæterum quod ad externum actionis ritum spectat, in manum accipiant fideles, nec ne; inter se dividant, aut singuli, quod *sibi* datum fuerit, edant; calicem in diaconi manum reponant, an proximo tradant; panis sit fermentatus, an azymus; vinum rubrum, an album. Nihil refert. Hæc indifferentia sunt et in ecclesiæ libertate posita.

Beza speaks much to the same purpose in his second Epistle to Du Tillet. 'It is probable,' says he[47], 'that at the first supper the Apostles received the cup from one another, and all drank of the same cup. But what then? Shall we therefore say all Churches sin, where the custom is not to take the elements from one another, but every one singly from the hands of the minister or deacon? By no means: because, though we are commanded to receive, yet the manner of the reception is not precisely enjoined.'

They who speak thus could not think, as our objectors do, that the practice of our Church was so contrary to the rule of Christ, as to be 'an act of disobedience, and a studying to be wiser than him.'

But the enjoining it perhaps is the thing they most scruple at, as contrary to the example of Christ, because 'it makes a new term of communion.' If so, the Church of France is bound to answer it, for making so many canons enjoining all communicants to receive only from the hands of the minister, (except in cases of absolute necessity,) with a certain form of words also to be used at the distribution to every one. Their Book of Discipline has two canons to this purpose[48]: 'The Churches shall be informed that it belongeth only unto ministers to give the cup. And this they may do with the accustomed form of words,' &c.

This is repeated in the Synod of Montauban, ch. 4, art. 33; Synod of Lyons, 1563, ch. 10; Synod of Vertueil, 1567, ch. 8, art. 9; and with greater strictness in the Synod of Gergeau, 1601, where it is decreed[49], 'that the bread and cup in the holy eucharist shall be distributed by none but the ministers and elders, who shall with their own hands put them into the hands of every individual communicant.'

The Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, speaks in as peremptory

[47] Ep. 2. ad Till. (p. 26.) Sed et in hac ipsa actione, quum eam instituerat Dominus, probabile est,... alios ex aliis panem et poculum accepisse, adeoque omnes ex uno poculo bibisse. Num igitur peccare dicemus ecclesias, apud quas non alii aliis sacramenta tradant, sed ex ministri vel diaconi manu sigillatim omnes accipiant, ex diversis etiam poculis bibentes? Minime profecto, quoniam ipsa sumptio non autem sumendi modus præcise præscribitur.

[48] Ch. 12. articles 8 and 9. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 48.)

[49] Ch. 6. art. 7. (Q. v. 1. p. 217. A. v. 1. p. 245.)

terms as may be[49]: 'That the cup shall not be given by the faithful one to another, it being contrary to an express canon of our discipline; which ordereth pastors, if possible, to deliver it; or where they cannot, the elders to assist the pastors in populous churches.'

Where it is to be noted that elders are to have no hand in it but only in cases of absolute necessity, which is so far insisted on, that in another canon they condemned one Royer, who wrote a book to prove it lawful for elders ordinarily to give the cup in the sacrament, and recite the words of institution at the delivery of it. The censure is in these words[50]: 'This synod having already determined what should be done herein by an express canon inserted into our Discipline; in which nothing shall be changed; for, whatever difficulties may arise about the delivery of the cup, it cannot by any means approve of the actings of the said Royer, &c. But our advice is, that forasmuch as pastors in populous churches cannot without excessive toil deliver the cup to every individual communicant, they may use the help of their eldership, but yet enjoin them silence, and the pastors only shall speak when the sacred elements are distributed, that so it may be generally and manifestly known that the administration of the sacraments is wholly appropriated to the pastoral office.'

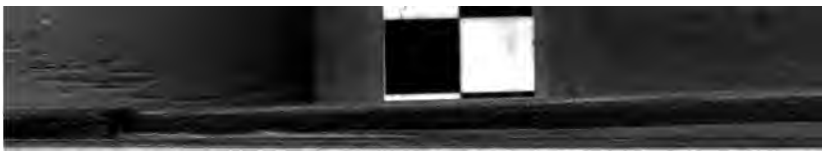
The non-conformity of some pastors and churches gave them still fresh occasion to repeat this injunction. Therefore in the Synod of Alez, 1620, they reinforced their discipline with this canon[51]: 'In all provinces pastors shall be obliged to administer the cup, as well as the bread, unto every individual communicant, without distinction of persons. And also they shall use meet words in the administration of both the elements, to quicken the hearts and spirits of the communicants at the Lord's table. And express order is given to all provincial synods, to take special care that pastors do not in the least transgress this canon.'

The Church of Montauban made a remonstrance against this, and pleaded that it had been an ancient custom with them

[49] Ch. 6. art. 14. (Q. p. 327. A. ibid. p. 375.)

[50] Ch. 8. art. 35. (Q. p. 337. A. ibid. p. 387.)

[51] Ch. 5. art. 14. (Q. v. 2. p. 9. A. v. 2. p. 149.)



for elders to deliver the cup, and therefore they desired license to continue their ancient practice. But the Synod refused, and peremptorily commanded all pastors, without exception, to conform to the established order [52].

The two following Synods of Charenton and Castres reinforced the said decree, 'expressly enjoining all the churches to observe most uniformly the canon of the Synod of Alez [53].'

And whereas in the next Synod of Charenton, 1631, a complaint was made against the Churches of Nismes and Montpellier, for non-execution of the canon of Alez, about delivering the cup at the Lord's table by pastors only; that Synod judged the province of lower Languedoc to have incurred a censure for their overmuch indulgence to those churches: and it highly censured the consistories of those churches also, and enjoined them for the future to follow the practice of the other churches of the kingdom, on pain of being prosecuted with all ecclesiastical censures [54].'

The Church of Nismes not conforming for all this, another decree passed in the following Synod of Alençon, 1637, enjoining them to submit [55], and 'conform themselves to the canon of their Discipline, which orders all churches to be informed, that it belongeth to ministers only to administer the cup, and this for the avoiding many evil consequences.'

These canons I presume will be owned to run full in as high and peremptory terms as the rubric of the Church of England, which enjoins the minister to deliver the elements to every communicant's hand, and use a form of words particularly to every one at the distribution of them. Our dissenters call this an act of disobedience to Christ, and a studying to be wiser than our Master: but the French Synods say, many evil consequences would attend the contrary practice, and therefore they universally and severely prohibit it, and subject the transgressors to all ecclesiastical censures.

I have one thing more to add upon this head, that whereas lay-elders in the Church of Geneva, were wont sometimes to

[52] Ch. 14. art. 37. (Q. ibid. p. 49. A. ibid. p. 194.)

[53] See the Synod of Charenton, 1623, ch. 6. art. 3. (Q. ibid. p. 82. A. v. 2. p. 245.), and Castres, 1626, ch. 14. art. 5. (Q. ibid. p. 172. A. ibid. p. 348.)

[54] See the Second Synod of Charenton, 1631, ch. 19. art. 38. (Q. v. 2. p. 287. A. art. 34. v. 2. p. 488.)

[55] Ch. 8. art. 4. (Q. ibid. p. 334. A. ibid. p. 547.)

assist the pastors in the delivery of the cup, in the year 1623, 'the pastors of the Church and professors of the University sent letters to the national Synod of Charenton telling them, that now they had resolved for the future that it should be done by the pastors only[56].'

And long before this they had declared their willingness to comply with this custom. For in the national Synod of Lyons, 1563, the brethren of Geneva being demanded, Whether at the Lord's table pastors only should distribute the bread and wine to the people? they gave this answer[57], 'That it were certainly best, if it might be conveniently done at all times; but where it would be impracticable and too great a burden for the pastor, as it would be in some churches, there the elders and deacons might come in to his assistance and distribute the elements unto those who were more remote from him.'

So that here we have the concurring judgment both of France and Geneva, not only for the lawfulness, but also the expediency of the English way of distributing the elements to the people; which rule is never to be broken but in cases of absolute necessity when they allow elders and deacons to distribute, but never the people to receive from one another. This either justifies the Church of England, or condemns the French Church for disobeying the law of Christ. Let those now who are concerned tell us, whether of the two it does, for we can see no difference between them.

CHAP. XVI.

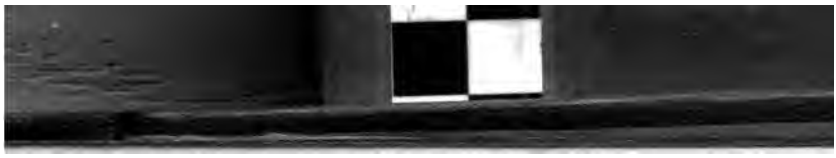
Of the doxology in the Communion-office, which speaks of archangels in heaven.

I find another objection made against the Communion-office, by the authors of the book called, *The Necessity of Reformation*, 1660, because in the doxology, a little before the prayer of consecration, there is mention made of archangels as well as angels in heaven. Now they say[58], 'This is an uncertainty, if not an untruth; for the Scripture never speaks of more arch-

[56] Ch. 5. art. 8. (Q. ibid. p. 81. A. ibid. p. 244.)

[57] Ch. 21. art. 21. (Q. v. 1. p. 53. A. v. 1. p. 57.)

[58] Reasons shewing the Necessity of Reformation. (p. 29.) After the Proper Prefaces, &c.



angels than one: Dan. 10, 21, 1 Thess. 4, 16, Jude 5, 12, Rev. 12, 7. This one is Michael, to wit, Christ the Prince of his people.' So those reformers.

To which I answer, first, that supposing there was but one archangel, yet this expression might be justified by many passages of Scripture, where the plural number is used when only a single person is meant. As Matth. 27, 44, "The thieves also that were crucified with him cast the same in his teeth:" when yet it appears from Luke 23, 39, that it was but one of the thieves that railed on him. See the like instances, Matt. 26, 8, Heb. 11, 33 and 37, Matth. 21, 2, cited in Mr. Poole's Synopsis on Matth. 27, 44. To which may be added Job 1, 5, and Jud. 12, 7.

Now as St. Matthew speaks truth when he says, men of all sorts mocked Christ, to wit, the chief priests, the scribes, the people, the soldiers, and even the thieves that were crucified with him, though it was but one of the thieves that did so: in like manner our Church speaks truth when she says, 'with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name;' though it could be certainly proved that there was but one archangel in heaven. For still it will be true, that heavenly spirits of all sorts, angels, archangels, &c., praise the name of God in heaven.

But, secondly, it is a mistake in the objectors when they say, the Scripture never speaks of more archangels than one. For in Daniel, (10, 13,) Michael the archangel is called *one of the chief princes*, which I think plainly signifies that there are more than one. And so St. Austin says expressly in his Enchiridion [59], *sint tamen et illic archangeli, that there are angels and archangels in heaven;* though he will not undertake, with Dionysius and the Schoolmen, to distinguish them into nine orders, and tell what is the exact difference between them. Rivet [60] commends St. Austin's modesty, and does not dislike his opinion of more archangels than one [61].

[59] C. 58. (t. 6. p. 218 b.) Quomodo autem se habeat beatissima illa et superna societas, quæ ibi sint differentiæ præposituraram, ut, cum omnes tanquam generali nomine angeli nuncupentur, ... sint tamen illic archangeli; &c.

[60] Catholic. Orthodox. tractat. 2. quæst. 46. n. 3. (t. 3. p. 249.) S. Augustini sobrietas, &c.

[61] [That the Ancients were generally of opinion that there were more archangels than one, is evident from hence, that they reckon archangels one of the orders of exalted angels. The Council of Sar-

And Peter Martyr[62] says, 'the names of *Archangel, Cherubim,* and *Seraphim* do denote that there are both different orders and different offices among the celestial spirits;' and he thinks *Principalities* and *Archangels* in Scripture mean the same order, to wit, 'those higher spirits to whose care only is committed the protection of provinces, empires, and kingdoms.' This, he says[63], was Daniel's meaning, when he wrote of the prince of the Grecians, and Persians, and Michael the prince of the people of God, Dan. 10, 13, and 12, 1. So that in his opinion the prince of Grecia and the prince of Persia are of the same order with Michael the prince of the people of God. And that shows that he did not believe Michael to be Christ, nor the only archangel that is mentioned in Scripture.

dica says expressly, 'that Christ was the creator and maker of archangels and angels. See the Synodical Epistle in Theodoret, b. 2. ch. 8. (Reading, p. 81. 26.) .... Ποιητὴν καὶ τεχνίτην, κ. τ. λ.—Again, Pope Damasus in his Confession of Faith says, 'We are baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, not in the name of angels or archangels.' —See also in Theodoret, b. 5. ch. 11. (ibid. p. 211. 35.) ..... Οὐχὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἢ ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα, κ. τ. λ.—See also Chrysostom, Adv. Vit. Monast. Vituperat. l. 3. t. 4. p. 498. (t. 1. p. 113 a. 9.) Μετὰ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων.—Hom. 3. De Incomprehens. Dei Natura. t. 1. p. 365. (ibid. p. 470 d. 1.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγγελοι προσπίπτουσι τῷ Δεσπότῃ, καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι δέονται.—Item, Hom. 4. ibid. p. 365. (ibid. p. 473 b. 4.) Εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι καὶ θρόνοι, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. 32. De Cruce et Latrone, ibid. p. 498. (t. 2. p. 408 b. 8.) .... Τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων.—Hom. 2. De Verb. Esai. t. 3. p. 849. (t. 6. p. 107 e. 2.) ..... Τῶν μυριάδων τῶν ἀγγελικῶν, τῶν χιλιάδων τῶν ἀρχαγγελικῶν.—Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. 1. Apolog. de Fug. (t. 1. p. 31 b.) Μετὰ ἀγγέλων, κ. τ. λ.—Hieron. Ep. 53. [al. Ep. 109.] ad Ripar. (t. 1. p. 720 a.) Nos autem non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim ... colimus et adoramus.—Cassian. Collat. 7. c. 13. (p. 317.) .... Sunt angeli, archangeli, cæteræque virtutes, &c. Collat. 8. c. 15. (p. 347.) Collat. 18. c. 16. (p. 528.)—Ambros. De Fide, l. 4. c. 1. (t. 2. p. 522. n. 6.) ..... Præibant angeli et archangeli, &c.—Theodoret. Serm. 3. De Angel. t. 4. p. 522. [al. Græc. Affect. Curat. Disput. 3. Ed. Hal. 1769.] (t. 4. p. 784.) ..... Οὓς καὶ ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους ὀνομάζετε, κ. τ. λ. Ed., from a manuscript note by J. B.]

[62] Loc. Comm. class. 1. c. 12. n. 20. in fin. (p. 57 g. 8.) .... Non solum Rabbini, sed etiam Scriptura Sancta nomen *archangeli, seraphim,* et *cherubim,* quæ denotant in spiritibus cælestibus et ordines certos et diversa munera esse.

[63] Ibid. n. 21. (h. 2.) Principatus fortasse intelligit Scriptura, sublimiores spiritus, quibus non nisi provinciarum et imperiorum et regnorum cura committitur. Hoc sensit Daniel, quum scriberet de principe Græcorum et Persarum, et Michaelem populi Dei principem induceret.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, how far justified by the French Church.

The next particular office that is found fault with is the Office of Baptism, against which nonconformists have several exceptions. That which has made the most noise with the least reason is the rubric which enjoins the minister to sign the child after baptism with the sign of the cross. Some say it is superstition, others that it is Popery: but Mr. Baxter has two new charges against it; first, he says [64], 'it is inventing a new sacrament;' and, secondly, 'it alters the term of Christ's covenant, and directly contradicts the fundamental law of Christianity.'

Let us hear the judgment of the French Church, whether that be so severe as this. They neither enjoin this ceremony nor use it, I own, but neither do they condemn it as superstitious, or simply unlawful, nor give our Church those hard names for enjoining it, as Mr. Baxter and some others do.

Beza was not for the enjoining it, yet he gives this advice to the brethren of England, that wrote to him about this and many other ceremonies [65], 'that forasmuch as they were not idolatrous in themselves, it was not fit that ministers should leave their office, or people forsake the communion because of it.'

In another place he says [66], 'I know that some Churches (meaning the English and Lutheran) renouncing the adoration of the cross, do still retain the use of this sign. *Utantur igitur ipsi, sicuti par est, sua libertate; Let them therefore use their own liberty as it is meet they should;* we in the French Churches for sundry reasons do not permit it to be used.'

This is spoken candidly, with a just moderation and temper: every Church may use her own liberty in this matter, and therefore, as the Church of England does not condemn the French for not retaining this ceremony, so neither does the

[64] English Nonconformity, ch. 13. point. 10. (p. 75.)

[65] Ep. 12. (p. 107—109.) Itaque primum respondemus, etsi ista, nostro quidem judicio, non recte revehuntur in ecclesiam, tamen cum non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se impiæ sunt, non videri nobis tanti momenti, ut propterea vel pastoribus deserendum sit ministerium .... vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum, &c.

[66] Beza, cont. Baldwin, cited by Mr. Sprint in his Cassander Anglicanus. (p. 139.) Again, touching the cross what shall I say, &c.

French condemn the English for retaining it. For they are both agreed that it is not in itself unlawful.

Peter Martyr says[67], 'The sign of the cross is worn by kings upon their crowns without superstition, because by that sign they only profess and declare that they reverence and maintain the Christian religion. And if it be lawful for a man to bear the coat of arms belonging to his family, it is lawful also to profess ourselves Christians by the sign of the cross.'

What does the Church of England more than this, when she uses this sign only as a token of professing the Christian religion, that we are not ashamed to own the faith of Christ crucified? May we not as innocently use this sign in baptism, as a prince wear it on his crown, in token that he reverences and maintains the Christian religion? A disputing head, I confess, may work a new sacrament out of either; but Peter Martyr was not so quick-sighted as to discern any such mystery in them.

Nor surely did the national Synod of St. Maixant, 1609, see any harm in it, when they resolved[68], 'that Protestant soldiers, to receive the relief granted by his Majesty unto those who had been maimed in his service, might wear the cross on their cloaks, not as a badge of superstition, but as the mark and cognizance of their afflicted condition, and that they should not therefore be excluded from the communion at the Lord's table.'

But it may be said, that though the French Church allow it to be lawful, yet they did not like the imposing it. Suppose they did not: what follows from thence? That therefore to impose it was 'to make a new sacrament, and alter the terms of Christ's covenant, and destroy the fundamental law of Christianity,' as Mr. Baxter words it? No such thing; for how then could Beza persuade ministers to comply with it, if it was so manifestly repugnant to the Christian religion? Would he have exhorted both pastors and people to have submitted to it, had he thought it a new sacrament, or that it altered the terms

[67] Loc. Comm. class. 2. c. 5. n. 20. (p. 156 i. 2. p. 157 a.) Citra superstitionem signum crucis a principibus in coronis gestatur; quoniam eo signo tantummodo profitentur ac testantur, se Christianam religionem colere et tueri. Porro si licet insignia propriæ familiæ gestare, licet etiam signo crucis Christianam religionem profiteri.

[68] Ch. 6. art. 11. (Q. v. 1. p. 327. A. v. 1. p. 374.)

of the covenant of God? Beza knew too well that the enjoining some indifferent circumstance or ceremony was not to alter the terms of the covenant: otherwise the French Church had been as guilty as any other. For though they do not enjoin the sign of the cross in baptism, yet they do some other things, which Christ has no more commanded than the sign of the cross.

At Geneva it is enacted by a law, for some reasons of state, that no minister shall baptize a child with the name of Balthasar[69]. And though this sometimes occasions troubles and tumults, yet the ministers are bound precisely to observe it, as Beza himself informs us in the Life of Calvin[70].

In the other Churches of France ministers are enjoined by canon not to baptize any child with any name that is ascribed to God in Scripture, as Immanuel, and others of the like nature[71].

And the Synod of Orleans, 1562, says expressly[72], 'Ministers shall reject the names of old Paganism, nor shall they give unto infants such names as are attributed to God; nor names of office, such as Baptist, Angel, Archangel[73].'

They are further obliged not to baptize any children but upon a sermon-day. The Synod of Tonneins, 1614[74], says, 'It shall not be lawful to celebrate baptism unless there be a sermon either before or after.' The same was decreed in the Synod of St. Maixant. 1609, ch. 3, art. 10, and the Synod of Privas, 1612, ch. 3, art. 7[75].

[69] The reason of prohibiting this name, I conceive, was only because Balthasar Pacimontanus was the ring-leader of the Anabaptists.

[70] Ad calc. Melch. Adam. ut supra. (p. 84.) Denique in ipso D. Gervasii templo tumultum non parvum eo prætextu excitarunt, quod minister infanti ad baptismum oblato indere Balthasaris nomen, quoniam id diserte leges scriptæ ob certam causam prohibebant, recusaret.

[71] So in their Book of Discipline, ch. 11. art. 14. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 46.)

[72] Ch. 2. art. 21. (Q. v. 1. p. 25.)—Compare in Aymon. (v. 1. p. 27.) Touchant les noms, qui sont imposés aux enfans, les ministres rejetteront ceux, qui restent du vieux Paganisme, et pareillement n'imposeront aux enfans les noms attribués à Dieu dans l'Ecriture sainte, ni pareillement les noms d'office, comme Baptiste, Archange, &c.

[73] See also the Synod of Nismes, 1572, ch. 2. art. 3. (Q. ibid. p. 104. A. ibid. p. 113.) and the Synod of Figeac, 1579, ch. 2. art. 4. (Q. ibid. p. 129. A. ibid. p. 140.)

[74] Ch. 6. art. 7. (Q. v. 1. p. 399. A. v. 2. p. 11.)

[75] See Quick, (ibid. pp. 314 and 354.) or in Aymon, (ibid. pp. 359 and 404.)

Now the question to be asked upon all this is, 'Whether any of these things be conditions of baptism enjoined by Christ? If not, for no one, I presume, will say they are, then by what authority does the Church of France enjoin them? Why must no child be baptized but on a sermon-day? Why not with an Heathen name, or the name of Balthasar, or Immanuel, or Baptist, or Angel, &c.? Hath Christ made any of these things conditions of baptism? No, but at Mr. Baxter's rate of arguing, the French canons do. For they say no one shall be baptized unless the parents will first agree not to call him by the name of Balthasar, or Immanuel, or Baptist, &c. Now, what if the parents insist upon it and require the child to be named so, and plead, as Mr. Baxter does, that Christ required none of these conditions, and therefore, if the ministers refuse to baptize they are guilty of altering the terms of Christ's covenant and sacrament,—would this charge at all affect the Church of France? If not, how comes it more to affect the Church of England, which only requires submission to her injunction in the same manner as the Church of France does to her's? "Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment;" excuse the one, or condemn both.

If it be said that the French canons do not deprive any of baptism; I answer, they do as much as the Church of England does, supposing men to be so weak or superstitious as to think them an encroachment upon their Christian liberty and an altering the terms of Christ's covenant; for whilst they are under that prejudice they will think it unlawful to comply with them, and that they are obliged to show their Christian liberty by standing stiff against them; in which case they can have no baptism, unless the canons are transgressed, or else give way to their weakness or stubbornness, call it what you will: so that the case is the same in both Churches, only the one has been so happy as scarce ever to have met with any opposition upon such points, whilst the other has felt the sad effects of inveterate prejudice to her great sorrow and distraction.

But then experience, you will say, should make men wise and teach them at last to take this stumblingblock out of the way, and leave every one at liberty whether he would use the cross or not. I answer, this belongs to convocations and synods,

and not to private men to alter. The French Church saw reason to alter one of the forementioned constitutions. For the Synod of Castres, 1626[76], does not confine men to baptize only on sermon-days, but allows baptism 'to be celebrated on any day when common prayer is said without sermon[77].' And it was finally determined by the following Synod of Charenton, 1631, 'that every Church should be left to their own usage and custom, to baptize with or without a sermon as they thought convenient.' But so long as the former constitution continued in force, private men were not to contemn, but pay a due respect and obedience to it. And that is our case here in England. When the wisdom of our superiors shall think it expedient to make any alteration in this matter, ministers may baptize with or without the cross, as now is done in private baptism: but till then rubrics must be their rule, and not humour or fancy. Meanwhile dissenters have been often told[78], 'that if taking away the cross, or leaving it at liberty, would cure the schism, the Church of England could as easily dispense with it as the French Church does with a sermon, and go many steps further for the sake of peace and union, if such conditions would procure it.'

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the saving regeneration of infants, that it is a doctrine of the French Church as much as of the Church of England.

The next thing that is scrupled in the Office of Baptism is the rubric at the end of it, which says, 'It is certain by God's Word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.' Mr. Baxter is so offended with this, that he says[79], were there but this one thing, it would oblige them to nonconformity, whatever they suffer for it.

Sure there must be some extraordinary evil in it then which makes it so frightful: yes, he says, 'it is a new article of faith, and a dangerous adding to the Word of God, and a doctrine

[76] Ch. 26. art. 15. (Q. v. 2. p. 197. A. art. 3. v. 2. p. 376.)

[77] Ch. 19. art. 22. (Q. ibid. p. 285. A. art. 18. ibid. p. 486.)

[78] See Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation. (p. 82.) Also Dr. Sherlock's Defence, ch. 1. (pp. 12, seqq.) As for the Laity, &c.

[79] English Nonconformity, ch. 9. point 6. (p. 57.) See the last sentence of the chapter.

never heard of till the last alteration of the Liturgy.' All which is abundantly proved to be false by Dr. Falkner in his *Libertas Ecclesiastica* [80], whither I refer the reader for satisfaction. All I am here concerned to show is, that this rubric is agreeable to the doctrine of the French Church. Which will appear if we compare it with the thirty-fifth article of their Confession, which says [81], 'that baptism is administered to us to testify our adoption, because by it we are ingrafted into the body of Christ, washed by his blood, and renewed by his Spirit unto holiness of life.' Now are not those who are washed by the blood of Christ and renewed by his Spirit truly regenerated and undoubtedly saved, if they commit no actual sin to reverse and cancel the benefit of their baptism? How comes the Church of England then to be charged with making a new article of faith? Why, because it is not certain by God's Word that all children that are baptized are saved: particularly not the children of infidels and Heathens, though they should be baptized. And does the Church of England say this? No, but Mr. Baxter says she means so, and that is enough to charge her with making a new article of faith. But why may not the Church of France mean so too, seeing her words are as indefinite and without exception? No, that would spoil another charge of Mr. Baxter's, who says [82], the Church of England presumptuously condemns the Reformed Churches and the Christian world. So that in short, here is no controversy upon this point, unless we will allow Mr. Baxter the liberty of fixing what sense he pleases upon words, and let him partially load the Church of England, and excuse the French and other Reformed Churches, when yet they all speak and mean the same thing, which is no more than this; that all children who have a just right to baptism, and are truly qualified for it, and are lawfully and duly baptized, are thereby put into a salvable condition, in which, if they die without committing actual sin, they will certainly be saved. And if this be not truth, the whole doctrine of infant-baptism must be false and to no purpose, and it is

[80] Ch. 5. s. 3. (pp. 228–231.)

[81] See Quick. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 14.) [Conf. ap. Corp. Confess. (part. 1. p. 109.) .... Nobis testificandæ nostræ adoptioni datus, &c. Ed.]

[82] English Nonconformity, ch. 9. point 6. (p. 51.)

in vain to dispute with Pelagians and Anabaptists any longer about it.

But what if the Church of England had said, that all children that were baptized were undoubtedly saved, &c.? Ought not this in reason by every candid interpreter to be construed of children only that had a true right to baptism, that is, of children of believing parents, and not of Turks and infidels, as Mr. Baxter will needs understand it [83]? And then what is it more than is said by other Churches? Calvin and Beza were for the salvation of all infants baptized, if Rivet rightly understood their doctrine: for he says [84] in answer to a Jesuit, 'that it is most false, that Calvin and Beza ever said that some baptized infants are damned, dying in their infancy before they commit any actual sin.'

And Peter Martyr's words [85] are as general as those of our rubric, that children dying with baptism are saved, which he proves by Scripture-arguments, though Mr. Baxter says there is no Scripture for it.

But I have a greater authority to urge than either Calvin or Beza, which is the authority of a National Synod held at Charenton, 1623, where they say [86], 'The Word of God testifieth, that the children of believers are holy through the singular benefit of the covenant of grace, in which they are included with their parents: therefore fathers and mothers fearing God should not doubt of their children's election and salvation, whom God takes upon himself in their infancy.' Now, if even the unbaptized children of the faithful are saved, much more the baptized.

And it is to be observed, that this was one of those canons which were made to explain the decrees of the Synod of Dort, which every French minister subscribes, and swears to believe and maintain: so that after all Mr. Baxter's declamations and invectives against the English rubric, it deserves them no more than this French canon, or the Synod of Dort, since it speaks

[83] Ibid. (p. 55.) Comp. ch. 34. n. 1. (p. 157.)

[84] Catholic. Orthodox. tractat. 3. quæst. 3. s. 6. (t. 3. p. 304.) At falsissimum est eos unquam dixisse, quosdam infantes jam baptizatos damnari, si in infantia moriuntur, antequam peccata actualia sine pœnitentia commiserint.

[85] Loc. Comm. class. 4. c. 8. n. 19. (p. 585 c. 9. usq. ad fin.) Est alter locus in libro Gen. c. 17, &c.

[86] Ch. 26. art. 17. (Q. v. 2. p. 130. —A. v. 2. p. 302.)

only of the children of believers who have a right to baptism, and no others. And this leads us to another controversy raised by Mr. Baxter, concerning those who have right to baptism by the rules of the Church of England, which shall be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP. XIX.

That the Church of England admits of none to be baptized but what are allowed baptism in the French Church.

Mr. Baxter in his thirty-fourth chapter of the English Nonconformity [86] lays it to the charge of the Church, that she obliges all her ministers, under pain of suspension, to baptize the children of atheists, Jews, infidels, heretics, blasphemers, or any other that are brought to church to them. The only grounds of this charge are the words of the Sixty-eighth Canon, which are these: 'No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child, according to the form of the Book of Common-prayer, that is brought to the church to him upon Sundays or holy-days to be christened:' whence he infers, that no minister may refuse to baptize the children of Jews or infidels, or so much as inquire whether the godfathers be Christians, Jews, or infidels, because it is said, he must baptize them without delay.

I could hardly have thought it possible for any man to have put such a perverse interpretation upon the words of an innocent canon. But this is Mr. Baxter's ordinary way of disputing, to strain words to an unnatural sense, and then fight against his own chimeras. Who besides him would have thought or said, that the children of Jews and infidels, as such, were comprised in this canon, when it is so plain that it speaks only of such as have a just right to Christian baptism, whom the minister is not to refuse or delay to christen, when they are offered, for any private reason of his own?—such reasons, suppose, as was that of Snape in Queen Elizabeth's time, who, as Bishop Bancroft informs us [87], would not baptize a certain child, only because the parents insisted upon having him called *Richard*.

This indeed might have been allowed in a French minister,

[86] P. 157. [87] Dangerous Positions, b. 3. ch. 12. (p. 104.)

who, as I have shown, is prohibited by canon to give any Heathen name to children at their baptism; but it was no rule of the Church of England, and therefore probably Bishop Bancroft, who was president of the Convocation when the Canons were made, might have his eye upon the very thing, and insert this canon on purpose to prevent this abuse in others of the like nature. But whether that was the occasion of the canon or not, it is certain it can have no such sense as Mr. Baxter puts upon it, that is, to oblige ministers to baptize the children of Jews and infidels who have no right to baptism. It is certain our Church in this matter goes by no other rule than all the Reformed Churches, which exclude the children of Turks, Jews, and infidels from baptism, as being out of the covenant and unclean, except in some particular cases; as when they are adopted into Christian families, either by the voluntary consent of the parents themselves transferring their right of education to Christians, or children that are exposed by their parents and taken up in charity by Christians to be brought up by them, or are made lawful captives of war, and by that means become the legal possession of Christian masters. In these cases their adoption into Christian families, where they are designed a Christian education, gives them a qualification for Christian baptism. And if in such cases the Church of England admits the children of Jews, Turks, or Heathens to be baptized; it is no more than what Rivet and Walæus tell us is done by most other Reformed Churches, who think that by such means those children gain a right to baptism, after the same manner that Abraham's servants, bought with his money, did to circumcision, as well as those that were born in his house. And they say further [88], that this was so common a practice, and so beyond all controversy in the Primitive Church, that St. Austin made use of it to prove free grace and election against the Pelagians.

Where then is the fault of the Church of England in this matter, if she acts by the same rule that the Primitive Church and all Reformed Churches go by? If she admits not the children of Jews and Pagans to baptism, but only in such cases as

[88] See Rivet's Synops. Purior. Theolog. disput. 44. n. 49. (p. 651.) Nisi forte per adoptionem, &c..... Quod in veteri ecclesia ita extra controversiam fuit, &c.

all other Churches do; it is a slandering her constitution for any man to say, she obliges her ministers by canon to refuse none, though they be the children of Jews or infidels, if they be but brought to church to be baptized.

But however, 'she admits the children of wicked Christians, and commands the minister to baptize them.' And where is the harm of that? Is it not much better than to perplex her ministers, as many dissenters do themselves, with doubting consciences and endless scruples about the parents' godliness, which they cannot always, nay very seldom, certainly know? The forementioned authors, Rivet and Walæus, tell us in the same place[89], 'that their Churches do not exclude the children of Christian parents from baptism, though the parents have rendered their own baptism null, as to any efficacy upon themselves, by an ungodly life or impure faith;' and their reason is, 'because the son is not to bear the iniquity of the father: God is still the God of those children.'

What then? Must all children be admitted, that are brought to baptism? Suppose the children of atheists, heretics, blasphemers, incestuous, adulterers, or even excommunicate persons,—must none of these be delayed or refused, but be immediately baptized? I answer, the children of the three last mentioned are to be baptized by the rules of the French Discipline. For in the Synod of Vitré, 1583, this case was proposed[90], 'Whether the usual form of prayer should be recited at the baptism of infants born out of matrimony, or in adultery, or incest, because there are in it those words, *Begotten of father and mother whom thou hast called into thy Church?*' and the Synod judged, 'that there needed be no dispute made about it; because that under the name of *father and mother* are not only comprised the more immediate parents, but also their ancestors to a thousand generations: and this also should be considered, that though the parents be faulty, yet they are not therefore totally excluded the covenant of God[91].'

[89] See ibid. n. 50. (ibid.) Nec tamen ideo excludimus ab hujus sacramenti communione infantes eos, qui ex Christiana stirpe et baptizatis parentibus nati sunt, etsi ipsorum parentes per vitam improbam aut fidem impuram fœderis in baptismo obsignati efficaciam adversus se irritam reddant, ... quia sub novo fœdere filius non fert iniquitatem patris, &c.

[90] Ch. 2. art. 8. (Q. v. 1. p. 144. A. v. 1. p. 158.)

[91] See also the Book of Discipline, ch. 11. art. 19. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 47.)

In the Synod of Rochelle, 1607, this other case was proposed[92], 'Whether a child born in marriage disallowed by their Discipline, being presented by godly sureties, might be baptized?' and answer was given, 'that the parents' fault cannot prejudice the children.' So that there is no difficulty at all in the case; nor should any scruple in the least be made about admitting such infants unto baptism, especially when as godly persons will become sureties for their religious education.

Nay, Beza says further, that the children of excommunicate persons have a right to baptism. 'Charity,' says he[93], 'bids us hope well of all, and labour to restore those who are taken captive in the snare of the Devil: therefore, God forbid we should conclude, that when parents are excommunicate, their posterity belong not to the kingdom of God.' He gives many reasons for his assertion, much of the same nature with those of the foresaid Synod of Vitré, and then infers from them all[94], 'that such children ought to be baptized, *modo idoneus sponsor interveniat, provided some fit surety will undertake* to the Church for their Christian education, which the ministers and other pious persons ought to procure, rather than the baptism of such should be deferred[95].'

But what shall we say to Mr. Baxter's three instances of atheists, heretics and blasphemers? Why, I say by the same rules, for aught I can see, the French Church would determine that their children should be baptized, provided some pious surety would undertake for their education; for they may have pious ancestors, and then they say the wickedness of the immediate parents does not prejudice the children. So that whatever is done in England in these matters, it is sufficiently justified by the rules and practice of the French Church. As to what concerns heretics in particular, they expressly put

[92] Ch. 10. art. 35. (Q. v. 1. p. 293. A. art. 39. v. 1. p. 332.)

[93] Ep. 10. ad Neocomens. (p. 97.) Quæ quum ita se habeant et caritas nos jubeat de quibusvis bene sperare, atque adeo de illis etiam laborare, qui captivi tenentur Diaboli laqueo, absit, ut excommunicatis parentibus, posteritatem eorum concludamus ad regnum Dei non pertinere.

[94] Ibid. (p. 98.) ..... Nullo jure posse a baptismo arceri excommunicatorum adhuc in ecclesia Dei manentium liberos, modo idoneus sponsor interveniat, qui de sancta ipsorum educatione ecclesiæ fidejubeat, quod ab ipsis etiam ministris et piis aliis hominibus potius procurandum putamus.

[95] See the Book of Discipline, ch. 11. art. 4. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 45.)

them into the same rank with excommunicated persons, and say their children may be baptized. 'Children,' says their Book of Discipline [96], 'both whose parents are members of the Church of Rome (who are heretics in their account) and those of excommunicated persons shall not be baptized unless the parents require it, and resign up their authority unto the sureties.' This implies that they might be baptized if they desired it, by proper sureties. And the next canon says [97], 'the children of Saracens and gypsies may be admitted unto baptism upon the same conditions.'

As for atheists and blasphemers, I find no particular canon in the French Church about their children, and therefore can say nothing further about them. If any one proves they have no right to baptism, he proves at the same time that no minister is obliged to baptize them; since the canon is only to be understood of such children as have an undoubted right to be baptized.

CHAP. XX.

That the French Church allows and commends the use of sponsors or sureties in baptism.

We have already heard in the last chapter, that in some cases the French Church requires sureties as of absolute necessity, that is, in case the parents be excommunicate or unfit. Here I shall show that in all cases she recommends, and so far requires the use of them, as to censure those for contentious persons who refuse to comply with the received custom. The only difference is, that she does not so precisely enjoin it to all as the Church of England does: for her canon in this point runs in a different strain from almost all the rest. Book of Discipline [98]: 'Forasmuch as we have no commandment from the Lord to take godfathers and godmothers, who may present our children unto baptism, there cannot be any particular canon made which shall bind persons to do it. But since it is a very ancient custom, and introduced for a good end, to wit, to testify the sureties' faith, and the baptism of the infant, and also for that they charge themselves with the care of educating

[96] Ibid. (p. 45.)
[97] Ibid. (p. 45.)
[98] Ch. 11. art. 7. (Quick, introduct. v. 1. p. 45.)

the child, in case it should be deprived of its parents by death; and for that it doth maintain a sweet communion among the faithful by a conjunction of friendship, they who will not observe it, but will by themselves present their own children, shall be earnestly entreated not to be contentious, but to conform unto the ancient and accustomed order, it being very good and profitable.'

This I freely own is no necessary injunction, but it may have very near the force of one; for the earnest exhortation of a church is next to a command, and a general custom and order falls very little short of a law. "If any man seem to be contentious," says the Apostle [2], "we have no such custom, neither the churches of God." He thought there was some force in custom, else he would not have drawn it into an argument to quiet the contentious.

But the question is not altogether, whether it be enjoined? but whether men ought not to comply with the received order of any church, whether it be founded on law, or only on general custom? And on this point there is no difference between the two Churches. Nay, Beza plainly justifies the enjoining it, writing to Bishop Grindal. 'To use,' says he [3], 'a convenient form of prayer, and explication of the nature of baptism, and sponsors to undertake for the child's religious education, being rites of an innocent simplicity and gravity, and no ways symbolical, and free from giving the least occasion to superstition,—*Quis tandem damnare ausit? Who is there that dares to condemn them,* unless he will incur the Apostle's censure, who commands all things to be done decently and according to order?' It seems Beza thought that text of the Apostle a sufficient ground to authorize the enjoining it, though some of his brethren were of another opinion.

Rivet says 'it is *an useful custom, utilis infantibus,* and therefore they retain it:' and though it be not absolutely

[2] 1 Cor. 11, 16.

[3] Ep. 8. ad Grindal. (p. 82.).... Quod commoda quæpiam formula precum et explicationis baptismi adhibeatur, quod sponsores intersint, qui de sancta infantis educatione caveant; ... hos ritus, ut simplices et honestos ac minime symbolicos, denique ejusmodi, ut nullam prorsus superstitioni occasionem præbeant, quis tandem damnare ausit, nisi qui expressis illis Pauli verbis velit redargui, præcipientis, ut in domo Domini *rite et ordine omnia fiant?*

necessary to salvation, yet he thinks 'there may be both general and particular reasons fetched out of Scripture to persuade men to the use of it;' and he derives its original from the Jewish rites in circumcision [4].

But now admitting it only to be a custom and practice, not a law of France: wherein does their practice differ from ours?

Why, first, Mr. Baxter says [5], 'we forbid parents to be godfathers with the rest, or to speak one word, or to dedicate their children to Christ;' for which he quotes the Twenty-ninth Canon, which says, 'No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as godfather for his own child.' Some of this is true and some false. It is false that the Church forbids parents to be godfathers with the rest, or to dedicate their children to Christ. The Church forbids parents to be sole sponsors for their own children, and requires them to get others to answer for them: but this 'does not supersede the obligation of parents, but only superinduces a further obligation upon other persons for greater security of performance,' as Bishop Stillingfleet well words it. The parent may make an express compact with the sponsor, if he will; at least the desiring him to be sponsor is an implicit compact, and a transferring all his right and power upon him. The parent also may be present at baptism, and there express his consent, and dedicate his child to Christ with sponsors, but not without them. How then are parents excluded from giving their consent, or being godfathers with the rest in effect, when they have so many ways to testify their consent? This is all that is commonly done in the French Churches, and they that will do more are deemed contentious persons.

But secondly, Mr. Baxter says [6], 'Our Church allows godfathers without any difference to bring the children of any atheists, Sadducees, Jews, infidels, or open enemies of Christ, without taking them for their own.' This I have shown already, in the last chapter, to be in a great measure a false charge; but so far as the Church is concerned in it, she is fully justified

[4] Catholic. Orthodox. tractat. 1. quæst. 9. n. 21. (t. 3. p. 69.) Hanc quidem consuetudinem retinemus, &c.

[5] English Nonconformity, ch. 10. part 7. (p. 59.)

[6] English Nonconformity, ch. 10. (p. 60.) My second reason is, &c.

by the practice of the French Church, which has no such condition as sponsors taking children to be their own, but only to take care of their education in case their parents die, which yet is not to be found in all editions of their Discipline, as Mr. Quick himself acquaints us.

Thirdly, Mr. Baxter says further [7], 'our sponsors personate the child without authority;' which is only repeating a false accusation over again, for they have always the parents' right and authority by their consent, if they be living; and if they be dead, there is no need of their authority: for baptism may be administered upon other grounds without it, as a learned person [8] has unanswerably proved from the general consent and practice of the Catholic Church.

Fourthly, he says [9], 'our sponsors in personating the child do make him say at present, *I believe, I renounce, I desire*, &c., falsely intimating that infants are bound at present to do this by another, when as God requireth no faith or repentance of infants, but only that they be the seed of penitent believers devoted to Christ.' But sure he had not this doctrine from Calvin, who owns [10] a sort of faith in infants, though not formed as it is in adult persons, yet *in semine*, and that wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Which was also the opinion of Melancthon, Chemnitius, Rivet, and generally of all the Lutheran and French Churches, whose arguments Bellarmin essayed to answer, though I know not whether Mr. Baxter ever did [11].

But suppose there were no such faith in infants, yet Mr. Baxter might have known that the apologists of the Church of England justify her practice another way. They say,—'It is sufficient that the faith which referreth to infants have only some general agreement in its notion with the faith of the adult. Now, since the faith of the adult is an acceptance of the covenant of grace and the Gospel-doctrine, with a submission thereunto, which in their state is an active exercise of the

[7] Ibid. (p. 64.)

[8] See Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation. (p. 382.)

[9] English Nonconformity, ibid. (p. 65.)

[10] Institut. l. 4. c. 16. nn. 19, 20. (Oper. t. 9. p. 360.) *Responsio secunda de Cognitione Dei, qua imbuuntur Infantes.*

[11] Vid. Bellarmin. De Baptismo, l. 1. c. 11. (Oper. t. 3. pp. 283, seqq.) *Declaratur, quæ fides requiratur in baptismo parvulorum et refelluntur errores adversariorum.*

soul, when an infant is said to believe, this must consist in such an acceptance of and submission to the Gospel as his state is capable of, which is passively. Thus by being baptized he accepteth Christ and the covenant of grace, and is united to and made a member of the Church, entering upon the profession of Christianity, which his sureties declare, and himself stands obliged to own when he comes to years of understanding.' So Dr. Falkner and others: and, questionless, this was the sense of the Catholic Church; as appears from St. Austin's twenty-third Epistle and his Book *De Peccatorum Meritis*, where he says[12], 'Infants are called believers and penitents, because they do in some measure make profession of faith, and renounce the Devil and the world in the words of those that carry them.' So that whether we consider the sense of the first Reformers, or the sense of the Catholic Church, the answers given in baptism do not proceed upon such a false intimation as Mr. Baxter would make it, that children do at present believe, renounce, &c.

And therefore the Lutheran Churches, as Chemnitius informs us[13], retain the old form; and those Churches which changed it did it not upon Mr. Baxter's principle; as if it were absurd to say in any sense that children believe, renounce, &c.: for they prayed for faith for them, as it is in the Tigurine Liturgy, lately translated into English[14]: 'Let us pray to God to grant faith unto this child, that this outward baptism, as it is administered outwardly, may also be done inwardly by the internal [intrinsic] power of the Holy Ghost, [with the enriching water of saving grace.]'

Fifthly. But the worst, he says[15], is yet behind; that is, 'the common perfidiousness of godfathers, who either understand not what they promise, or take no care to perform it.' And must the Church bear the blame of all this, and allow it for a just cause of separation? Yes, because she 'admits

[12] Ep. 23. al. 98. n. 10. (t. 2. p. 268. a. 7.) Itaque parvulum, etsi non dum fides illa, quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit, &c.—De Peccator. Merit. l. 1. c. 19. (t. 10. p. 14 a. 8.) Ac ne quis existimet ideo parvulos ad baptismum offerri oportere, &c.

[13] [Vid. Chemnitium, ap. Doctr. Jesuit. Confutat. (Rupeliæ, 1584. p. 741?) Ut mos nostros majores qui citra superstitionem .... illas cæremonias in baptismo usurparunt nequaquam damnaverim, &c. Ed.]

[14] [By I. C. Werndly.] (p. 82.)

[15] English Nonconformity, ch. 10. (p. 66.)

atheists, infidels, or any wicked men not excommunicate, to be godfathers:' he should have named the canon that allows atheists and infidels to be godfathers. For my part, I know no such canon. If they be secret atheists or infidels, no minister can take any cognizance of them; but if they be professed ones, he may find a way to refuse them: for he may reject them from the communion; and such as he may reject from the communion, I conceive he may reject from being sponsors at baptism. As for others, who are not under any censure of the Church, they are allowed to be sponsors in all nations; particularly in France they have this canon[15], 'That although the faithful be ill reported of, yet in case they be not by the consistory suspended from the Lord's table, they shall be admitted sureties for infants in baptism.'

And their Book of Discipline requires no other conditions, but that the sureties[16] 'be of sufficient age, in their fourteenth year at least, and shall have communicated at the Lord's table; or if they be well stricken in years, and have not yet communicated, they shall protest seriously that they will do it, and in order to it that they will suffer themselves to be duly catechized.' Here we see persons may be admitted as sponsors, who want catechizing in order to receive the Lord's supper themselves.

The next canon excepts persons suspended from the Lord's supper[17]: 'They may not present children in the quality of sureties unto baptism so long as their suspension shall stand in force against them.'

The ninth canon also excepts strangers that want testimonials[18]. 'A surety coming from another church shall not be admitted to present a child unto baptism, unless he bring with him a certificate from his own church;' which is a good canon.

These are all the rules they give about sponsors and their qualifications. The rest is only matter of advice[19], 'That pastors shall diligently exhort all godfathers and godmothers to weigh and consider their promises made at the celebration

[15] See the Synod of Gergeau, 1610, ch. 5. art. 9. (Q. v. 1. p. 217. A. v. 1. p. 245.)

[16] Ch. 11. art. 10. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 46.)

[17] Ibid. art. 11. (p. 46.)

[18] Ibid. (p. 46.)

[19] Ibid. art. 12. (p. 46.)

of baptism, and parents also to choose such sureties for their children as are well instructed in religion and of a godly life and conversation, and that are as much as may be of their acquaintance, and by whose means, if there should be a necessity for it in the course of God's providence, it is most likely that their children will have a religious education.'

And may not the pastors of the Church of England do all this and something more if they please? Or why must all neglects, either in pastors or sponsors, presently be charged upon the Church, as if the institution itself were unlawful? There are too many faults committed in the exercise of it indeed, but that is not the fault of the thing itself, but the persons who are concerned in it: and I believe most Churches find reason enough for such complaints which they know not how to help. Peter Martyr gives an honourable testimony to the institution itself, calling it '*utile institutum, a very useful order*, that when children are received into the Church by baptism they should be committed to the care of godfathers and godmothers to instruct them; but,' says he[20], 'though the sponsors pawn their faith to do this, yet now-a-days there is nothing which they less regard.'

I hope I have now made it appear that Mr. Baxter's exceptions are all either false or trifling, and such as would hold against the practice of the reformed Church of France as well as the Church of England: and his last great argument, upon which he lays the most stress, would hold as well against baptism itself; for there is more perfidiousness committed by persons that break their baptismal vow, than by godfathers that break their covenants as sponsors; yet we may not lay baptism aside, or charge men's faults upon the institution.

After all, he owns our baptism with all its faults to be valid, and dares not say it is null and void; though the arguments are not very good which he uses to prove it. For he says[21], 'If it were no minister, or one unauthorized, that baptized, it would not be a mere nullity, if by mistake it were supposed well done. *Factum valet*, was judged by some, when Athana-

[20] Loc. Comm. part. 4. ch. 8. n. 5. (p. 581 g. 10.) Ad hoc præstandum susceptores fidem suam obstringunt: tametsi hodie nihil minus curent.

[21] English Nonconformity, ch. 10. (p. 65.)

sius by a boy was baptized in sport;' he should have said, 'when Athanasius, being a boy, baptized some other boys in sport;' for it was not Athanasius that was baptized by a boy, but he was the boy that baptized others, as Sozomen and Ruffin tell the story[22]. But that is but a small mistake. If Mr. Baxter had been a minister in France he must have recanted, not only his history, but his doctrine also. For their discipline requires men to subscribe and teach the contrary, and repeals all such baptisms as are only administered by women, laymen, or any unordained person. It is a canon of their Book of Discipline[23], 'That baptism administered by an unordained person is wholly void and null.' Therefore in the Synod of Poictiers, 1560, the question being put, 'what was to be done in case a child had been baptized by a private person?' The answer was given[24], 'that the baptism shall be declared null, and the child shall be brought publicly into the church there to receive true baptism.'

The same resolution was given in many other National Synods, as the first and second of Rochelle, the Synod of Gap, and the Synod of Alençon, 1637, where[25], though the king had sent them a letter requiring them to reverse their decree, and allow of the baptism of women and others according as is done in the Romish Church, yet they utterly refuse to allow of any such baptism as a thing formally contrary to their belief. So that this one thing would have made Mr. Baxter a nonconformist had he lived in the Church of France.

He, that would see their arguments upon this point and their answers to Mr. Baxter's instance of Athanasius, may read Rivet's Catholicus Orthodoxus, tract. 3[26]; Chamier, De Baptismo, l. 1. c. 14[27]; Beza contra Heshusium[28]; Calvin's Epistle to Menso Poppius[29], &c.

[22] See before, Lay-Baptism, part 1. ch. 1. s. 10. v. 9. p. 30. n. 61.

[23] Ch. 11. art. 1. (Quick. Introduct. v. 1. p. 44.)

[24] Ch. 6. art. 11. (Q. v. 1. p. 18. A. v. 1. p. 19.)

[25] Ch. 25. (Q. v. 2. p. 389. A. v. 2. p. 593.)

[26] De Ministro Baptismi, &c. (t. 3. p. 309.)

[27] De Legitimo Baptismi Ministerio. (t. 4. pp. 283, seqq.)

[28] In Opuscul. 1658. fol. *(p. 333.)* Cæterum pergis, &c.

[29] In Oper. (t. 9. p. 205.) Quoniam baptizandi licentia, quam sibi fœminæ arrogant, nihil aliud est, quam crassa superstitio, stulta illa et temere suscepta actio pro nihilo ducenda est. [Conf. Ep. ad Clauburg. (ibid. p. 112.) Quid ergo de mulieribus dicendum, &c. — Item, Ep. ad N. N. (ibid. p. 209.) Nam quia prodigiosa fuerit audacia, &c. Ed.]

I have but two things more to observe upon this head. The first is, that the French Church allows of sponsors by proxy, which Mr. Baxter also dislikes and reckons next to ridiculous. But the Synod of Montauban, 1594, thought fit to grant this privilege, at least, to kings and great princes; which shows that they did not think it simply unlawful[30]. 'No sureties shall present children unto baptism by their proxies, unless it be kings and great princes, who by reason of their weighty affairs cannot always be present at the time of baptizing.' And the following Synod of Saumur, 1596, took off this very restriction, and left all sponsors at liberty to act by proxy as need required[31].

The other thing I would remark is, that they require sponsors for adult persons also, and no one can be baptized without them. For in the third Synod of Charenton, 1645, a form of baptizing Pagans, Jews, Mahometans, and Anabaptists was composed and inserted into the Acts of that Synod, where among other things we find it ordered[32], that the minister shall address himself to the sureties who present the catechumen in these words,—'Do you not promise before God and this holy assembly to continue more and more to strengthen and confirm him in the faith, and to stir him up unto all good works?' And they must answer, 'Yes.' Where I observe, that this being part of the office prescribed and enjoined, baptism cannot regularly be administered without it; and the French ministers are under the same obligation not to baptize adult persons without sponsors, as the English ministers are not to baptize infants publicly without them. And this will serve as an answer to Mr. Baxter's other charge in his eleventh chapter of English Nonconformity; where he says[33], 'the Church of England makes godfathers essential to baptism; which is false, unless he can prove, first, that it is never administered without them; and then, secondly, that it is required not only as an useful order of the Church, but a necessary part of baptism of God's appointing; which neither he nor any one else has ever done. But admit the charge had something in it, what does it prove against the Church of England more than

[30] Ch. 4. art. 30. (Q. v. 1. p. 164. A. art. 31. v. 1. p. 182.)

[31] Ch. 4. art. 8. (Q. ibid. p. 179. A. art. 7. (ibid. p. 200.)

[32] Ch. 9. art. 10. (Q. v. 2. bottom of p. 452. A. v. 2. p. 660.)

[33] Ch. 11. point 8. (p. 69.)

the French Church, which made the same order about sponsors for adult persons? If it be 'schismatical imposing' here, I would know by what name it is to be called in the Church of France.

The next public office, which is the Form of Catechism, I pass over, as finding no other objections made against it but what have been considered before, or will be considered in the next chapter about confirmation.

CHAP. XXI.

That the French Church approves of the English way of confirmation, and exacts something equivalent to it before she admits any person to communion.

Mr. Baxter, in his nineteenth chapter of English Nonconformity[34], declares, that he is so far from scrupling the true use of confirmation, that he thinks the want of it is the greatest corruption of the Church of any outward thing he remembers. But then he 'likes not the English way of confirmation,' he says, 'nor can consent to reject all from the communion who desire not our episcopal confirmation.'

His objection against our English way of confirmation is, 'that here it is made impossible to be done any otherwise ordinarily than as a ceremony and game for boys,' as he modestly words it. His reason is, 'because the dioceses are so vast that the bishop cannot do this and other his offices for the hundredth part of his flock.' Whence he says it follows[35], '1. That there is not one of an hundred confirmed at all. 2. That all the thousands that are unconfirmed may come to the sacrament when they will. 3. That ministers do not concern themselves to keep any back from the sacrament for not being confirmed, or being desirous of it. 4. That it is usually performed as a running ceremony.'

To all which I answer, first, that there are many, both bishops and inferior pastors, whose constant practice prove this to be a mere calumny and slander in every instance. Secondly, admit there be some defects or abuses committed in the non-administration or mal-administration of it, upon whom are these faults to be charged? Upon the persons, or the Church

[34] Point 16. (p. 97.) [35] Ibid. (p. 100.)

and her institution? That they are not to be charged upon the institution itself, I prove from Mr. Baxter's own mouth. He says[36], 'Dr. Hammond and Mr. Elderfield, and divers others of the highest episcopal divines, have written as earnestly for the true use of confirmation as himself.' Now either they wrote agreeably to the principles and institutions of the Church of England, or against them. That they wrote against them, Mr. Baxter will never persuade any of his rational readers to believe; but if they wrote according to them, then there may be a true use of confirmation according to the institution of the Church of England; and all Mr. Baxter's exceptions are frivolous, because they charge personal faults upon the institution, which the Church may lament, but cannot always help: for all forms of government are liable to abuses; and the putting confirmation into every ordinary pastor's hands would never mend the failings that are now complained of in the exercise of it, but rather increase them, unless some diligent inspectors were appointed to look into their behaviour, with sufficient power to correct them. And every private minister has now a sufficient power in his hands, if he will make use of it, by serious catechizing to qualify persons under his charge for confirmation, and either actually procure it for them, or at least teach them to be desirous of it, which is all that the rubric requires: and such a desire is a tacit confirmation of their baptismal covenant, when the other, more solemn and public, cannot be had.

But Mr. Baxter cannot consent to keep any persons back from the communion who are not desirous of episcopal confirmation. For[37] 'many godly persons scruple it as sinful; because the words of the collect make it seem to some to be yet made a sacrament, which are, *Upon whom after the example of thy holy Apostles we have now laid our hands, to certify them by this sign of thy favour and gracious goodness toward them.*' 'Here,' he says[38], 'is an outward visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to them, said to be done in imitation of Christ's Apostles, as a means whereby they receive the same, and a pledge to assure them thereof; which is the Catechism's definition of a sacrament.'

Mr. Baxter takes any hint to prove the Church guilty of

[36] Ibid. (p. 100.) [37] Ibid. (p. 101.) [38] Ibid. (p. 102.)

making new sacraments, but his method is absurd, and will prove the French Church and all Protestant Churches as guilty in this particular as the Church of England. For,

1. No Church does more expressly deny confirmation to be a sacrament than the Church of England does, both in her Catechism and Twenty-fifth Article, which says, 'Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted for sacraments of the Gospel.' She does not so much as call imposition of hands a temporary sacrament, though Calvin, in his Book *De Vera Ratione Reformandæ Ecclesiæ* [39], scruples not to call it by that name, accusing the Papists of absurdity for changing *a temporary sacrament* given peculiarly to the Apostles, into a perpetual one.

2. If all imposition of hands, after the example of the Apostles, used as a sign to certify men of God's favour and goodness, does thereby become a sacrament, then both confirmation, and ordination, and reconciliation of penitents are sacraments also. For the French writers refer confirmation, and the imposition of hands used therein, to an apostolical original, and say it is used as a blessing, as all prayer accompanied with imposition of hands was ever understood to be.

Rivet says expressly [40], 'That the imposition of hands, joined with the doctrine of baptism, (Heb. 6, 2,) refers to that solemn benediction of baptized persons which the Ancients so often speak of, and which was in use in the Primitive Church, which was, that when children who were baptized in infancy could give an account of their faith to the satisfaction of the pastor, he then laid his hands upon them, and blessed them, commending them to God, and thereby confirming them in the

[39] C. 16. (Oper. t. 8. p. 285.) At manuum tamen impositio servanda est. Nam si credibile non est, ea, nisi Christi mandato, usos fuisse Apostolos, nobis instar legis est eorum observatio. Huic alterum quoque annexum est, inane symbolum non fuisse. Pro sacramento igitur habendum esse conficitur. Ego vero utrumque istorum fateor sed ex temporali imperite perpetuum faciunt.—He also says the same of the Apostolical unction.

[40] Catholic. Orthodox. tractat. 3. quæst. 9. n. 3. (t. 3. p. 312.) Hæc benedictio communis, conjuncta cum impositione manuum, immediate sequebatur baptismum in iis, qui jam adulti ad eam accipiendam præsentabantur. Statim enim post quam baptizati fuissent in Christum, minister ejus nomine iis benedicebat, eos precibus publicis commendando, ac in Christianismi vocatione confirmando.

profession of the Christian religion.' Which custom having been corrupted among the Papists, he says they had restored to its lawful use, by catechizing, instruction, and benediction of children in prayer, before they were admitted to the Lord's supper.

In another place he speaks at once the sense both of the French and of the Dutch Churches. 'It is probable,' he says [41], 'that the doctrine of laying on of hands, joined with the doctrine of baptism, (Heb. 6, 2,) refers to that care which the Primitive Church used in bringing children, after they were catechized, to give an account of their faith in the Church, before they were admitted to the communion; when also they recommended them to God by prayer, and the solemn rite of imposition of hands, which was a gesture used in prayer and blessing in the time of the patriarchs and afterwards. If they of the Church of Rome would be content with this prayer and commendation of adult persons to God, after a solemn examination, we should willingly acquiesce therein; if they would demand no more than that rite which Calvin wished to have restored, and which, for the substance of it, is now religiously observed in our Churches.'

Here, if I mistake not, imposition of hands is referred to an apostolical original, and said to be done in imitation of the Apostles, as much as that of the Church of England. And if benediction and prayer be means of obtaining God's favour, then imposition of hands, (a rite accompanying them in the opinion of these learned writers,) was no less an outward sign of God's favour in that primitive confirmation than now it is in ours. So that if Mr. Baxter's argument proves any thing, it proves confirmation to be made a sacrament in the Primitive Church as well as in the Church of England. For this is the

[41] Synops. Purior. Theolog. disput. 47. n. 13. (p. 685.) Probabile est autem *impositionis manuum doctrinam*, quæ Hebr. 6, 2, jungitur doctrinæ baptismatum, referri ad curam illam priscæ ecclesiæ, qua pueri eruditi in doctrina catechetica, priusquam admitterentur ad cœnæ participationem, ecclesiæ sistebantur, de fide sua responsuri; et precibus Deo commendabantur, adjecto ritu manuum impositionis, qui gestus erat orantium et benedicentium tempore patriarcharum usitatus.... Hac oratione et commendatione adulti fidelis ad Deum post legitimum examen si contenti essent [Pontificii], nos etiam libenter acquiesceremus; si, inquam, nihil aliud peterent, quam ritum illum, quem Calvinus restitutum cupit, (Institut. l. 4. c. 19. s. 4.) et cujus substantia in ecclesiis nostris religiose servatur.

common doctrine of learned Frenchmen, that it is a benediction by imposition of hands, done in imitation of the Apostles. Calvin, in his comment on the aforesaid text, (Heb. 6, 2,) says expressly [42], 'that this one place does abundantly prove that the original of this ceremony came from the Apostles. Therefore we ought now to retain the purity of the institution, and correct the superstition that has been added to it.' And Beza, in his annotation on the same passage, is of the same judgment.

But if we believe Mr. Baxter, the superstition still remains uncorrected amongst us, merely because we retain that rite: for we use imposition of hands in confirmation as an apostolical rite, and as a sign of God's favour and blessing; which, in his opinion, is to make a sacrament of it. And then it follows that ordination and reconciliation of penitents by the same rule are sacraments also: for imposition of hands was used in both those holy offices, after the example of the Apostles, and as an outward sign of benediction. At which rate we must come to the number of seven sacraments again, though both the French and English Church utterly disclaim that doctrine.

3. I must observe one thing further of Mr. Baxter's ingenuity in representing the Church's doctrine. He says [43], 'we make imposition of hands a means whereby to receive spiritual grace, and a pledge to assure men of it, as the Collects show, which is the Catechism's definition of a sacrament.' But by his leave, that is but one part of the definition; for to make a complete sacrament the Catechism requires 'that it be ordained by Christ himself,' which he cunningly omits, and makes the collects say what they do not say,—that imposition of hands is a means to convey grace: there is not one word in them tending to this purpose: there are some prayers indeed used to implore God's blessing upon the persons confirmed, and those in some sense may be said to be means of grace; but if that makes a sacrament, then every collect in the Liturgy, and every prayer any man makes to God for his grace, is a new sacrament; which I presume is too absurd for any man seriously to maintain.

[42] In Hebr. 6, 2. (Oper. t. 7. p. 541.) Hic unus locus abunde testatur, hujus cærimoniæ originem fluxisse ab Apostolis. .... Quamobrem hodie retinenda pura institutio est, superstitio autem corrigenda.

[43] English Nonconformity, ch. 19. point 16. (p. 102.) Here is an outward visible sign, &c.

But Mr. Baxter has two other reasons why godly persons may scruple our confirmation as sinful. He says[44], 'They that are against our diocesan sort of prelacy dare not seem to own it, by coming to them for confirmation appropriated to them.' I suppose the same persons will not come to diocesan churches, prayers, nor communion neither, for fear of seeming to own diocesan prelacy. And what need any man be concerned for being obliged to deny such the communion, who will not take it though it were offered them?

'But some think that a great and holy duty is made a mere mockery to delude souls, and corrupt the Church; while every one in England that will but take this ceremony is pronounced to God in prayer to be regenerate by the Holy Ghost, and all their sins forgiven them. These dare not join themselves with the profaners in their delusory way.'

This is spoken like Mr. Baxter indeed, in a strain of eloquence peculiar to himself. To which all I shall say is, that he had none of these flowers of rhetoric from Calvin, or any famed author of the French Church, who detest any man that shall bespatter the English episcopal confirmation with such opprobrious terms as 'mockery, delusion of souls, corruption of the Church,' and, 'profanation of an holy duty.' Calvin speaks honourably of the ancient episcopal confirmation; and any one that will observe the account which he gives of it will find it exactly agreeable to the form prescribed in the Church of England. 'It was an ancient custom,' says he[45], 'that the children of Christian parents, when they were grown up, should be presented to the bishop, to do that office which was required of persons who were baptized at adult age.—Forasmuch as

[44] Ibid. (p. 102.)

[45] Institut. l. 4. c. 19. n. 4. (Oper. t. 9. p. 389.) Hic mos olim fuit ut Christianorum liberi, postquam adoleverant, coram episcopo sisterentur; ut officium illud implerent, quod ab iis exigebatur, qui se ad baptismum adulti offerebant. Qui baptismo initiati erant infantes, quia fidei confessione apud ecclesiam tunc defuncti non erant, sub finem pueritiæ, aut ineunte adolescentia, repræsentabantur iterum a parentibus, ab episcopo examinabantur secundum formulam Catechismi; quam tunc habebant certam ac communem. Quo autem hæc actio, quæ alioqui gravis sanctaque merito esse debebat, plus reverentiæ haberet ac dignitatis, cærimonia quoque adhibebatur manuum impositionis. Ita puer ille, fide sua approbata, cum sollemni benedictione dimittebatur.... Talem ergo manuum impositionem, quæ simpliciter loco benedictionis fiat, laudo et restitutam hodie in purum usum velim.

that being baptized in infancy they could not then make any confession of their faith before the Church, they were again brought by their parents before the bishop, and examined by him in the Catechism, which they had then in a certain form of words. And that this act, which ought to be grave and sacred, might have the greater reverence, the ceremony of imposition of hands was used in the exercise of it. And so the youth, after their faith was approved, were dismissed with a solemn benediction. Now such an imposition of hands as this, which is used purely as a blessing, I very much approve of, and wish it were now restored to its pure and primitive use.'

He had no quarrel against it because it was administered by diocesan bishops; much less did he think their administration of it 'a delusive mockery of souls,' or 'the corruption of the Church,' or 'a profanation of the institution;' which are Mr. Baxter's compliments to the Church of England.

But Mr. Daille, as a learned man quotes him[46], gives her a compliment of a very different nature: he says, 'her way of confirmation is to be preferred before the practice of the Primitive Church in the fourth century.' His reason, I presume, was, because in the Primitive Church as they received infants to the communion, so in many places they confirmed them immediately after baptism. If this be true, (as I see no reason to question it, though some learned persons are of a different opinion, and refuse to receive his compliment,) he had very good reason to prefer the English way of confirming adult persons, before that which allowed infants to be confirmed: for the one much better answers the end of the institution than the other: but if he was mistaken in his opinion of the Primitive Church, he however shows his respect to the Church of England, whilst he allows and commends her way of confirmation, and solemnly protests that in the large volume which he wrote upon that subject he never meant to speak one word in derogation of it.

[46] Apud Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vindic. Procem. n. 11. (ap. Cotelerium, t. 2. Append. p. 6. col. sinistr.) Confirmationem, qua nunc utatur ecclesia Anglicana, multo melius ac sapientius, magisque ad Christianismi ingenium constitutam esse, quam quæ in veterum quarti et deinceps sæculi libris olim fuisse deprehendatur.

If it be said that Calvin and Daille and all the French Church think it lawful for presbyters to confirm; I answer, that is not the question at present, but only,—Whether it be lawful in an established episcopal Church for presbyters to set up against their bishops, and take confirmation out of their hands? This neither Calvin, nor Daille, nor any other French author that I know of, will justify, but rather condemn as schismatical usurpation. The case of necessity, where there are none but presbyters to confirm, differs very much from ours, where bishops retain their privilege, and either are or ought to be diligent in administering confirmation. I said before, if there be any neglects, personal faults are not to be charged upon the institution, which I have proved to be holy and pious in the judgment of the best writers of the French Church; some of which say it agrees with the practice of the Primitive Church, and others say it exceeds it.

Yet Mr. Baxter is so bold as to call it a delusory profanation, because of those words in the collect, *Almighty God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins.* This, he says, is pronouncing every one regenerate that will but take this ceremony: which is a manifest slander; for the words imply no more than a general charitable presumption, that such as come to confirm their baptismal vow were once truly baptized, and now come in a serious and religious manner to ratify their baptismal covenant in person. Upon which presumption they are charitably supposed to be in a state of regeneration. Such charitable presumptions are frequent in St. Paul's Epistles and almost all public offices and prayers of the Church, which suppose the congregation to be holy and sanctified, though many particulars may be otherwise. Thus it is in the Thanksgiving after the Communion, not only in our Office, but in Calvin's Liturgy, where the Form of Thanksgiving after the Reception of the Eucharist runs in these words[47]: 'We render thee our eternal thanks and praise, O

[47] Form. Prec. Eccles. (Oper. t. 8. p. 30.) Laudum et gratiarum actione immortali te prosequimur, Pater cœlestis, pro tanto, quod in nos miseros peccatores contulisti, beneficio, dum ad participationem Filii tui Jesu Christi nos adduxisti, quem pro nobis morti passus es tradi, et nunc in vitæ æternæ alimentum impertiris.

Heavenly Father, for this great benefit, which thou hast bestowed upon us miserable sinners, in bringing us to the participation of thy Son Jesus Christ, whom thou didst suffer to be delivered up unto death for our sakes, and hast now imparted him unto us to be our food unto eternal life.'

I ask now whether these expressions, 'participating of Christ,' and 'having him imparted to us as the food of eternal life,' be not equivalent and parallel to 'being regenerate,' and 'having forgiveness of all our sins?' If they be, then either our Confirmation Office may be justified, or the French Liturgy is to be condemned as a delusory profanation of the communion-service. I know Mr. Baxter himself would not have ventured to have said this of the French Church, however he makes bold to say what he pleases of the Church of England.

I have now considered all his exceptions against our Confirmation Office, and shown them to be unreasonable upon the principles of the French Church. The result is, that upon the same principles communion may lawfully be denied to those who refuse episcopal confirmation in an episcopal Church. For, not to inquire now either how far confirmation is necessary in itself, or necessary to be performed by a bishop: thus much is certain and agreed upon, that the rules and discipline of every Church relating to communion ought to be submitted to by all the members of it; and it being a rule in the Church of England that all persons before they be admitted to communion shall be confirmed by the bishop, or be at least prepared for and desirous of it; it follows, that such persons as obstinately refuse to submit to this order may as lawfully be denied communion here as those are in the French Church, who refuse to submit to their order of confirmation. Calvin says[48], 'it is their law that no children shall be admitted to the Lord's table till they have first given an account of their faith, and are approved by their ministers.'

And to this agrees that French Canon in the Book of Discipline[49], 'that children under twelve years of age shall not be admitted to the Lord's table; and when they are above that age it is left unto the minister's discretion to judge whether

[48] Defens. Secund. cont. Westphal. (Oper. t. 8. p. 678.) Lex est ne pueri donec fidei suæ rationem reddiderint ad sacram mensam accedant.

[49] Ch. 12. art. 2. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 47.)

they have sufficient knowledge to qualify them for their admission to it.' Now the only difference between their rule and ours is, that we oblige all persons not only to give an account of their faith to their private minister, but to the bishop also, and receive his benediction upon it: but if they have no opportunity to do this, then it is sufficient to satisfy their own minister that they are prepared for the communion, and willing to approve their faith and preparation before the bishop as opportunity shall permit them. And he that will not do this in an episcopal church is refractory, and liable to be censured by the rules and discipline of the French communion; which is the thing I undertook to prove.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Form of Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Communion of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Thanksgiving after Childbirth, Commination and the Church's wish for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline.

Concerning several of these offices in our Church I need not say much in this place. The Form of Marriage I have considered already, in the chapter about set forms of prayer, and shown the French manner of celebrating it to be a sufficient justification to ours. For the other offices, I own, they have no forms: but then they do neither absolutely condemn the use of such forms in general, nor ours in particular. The visitation of the sick is left to every minister's wisdom and discretion; and that is an office wherein our Church allows some liberty likewise, and I meet with no objections against it.

They have no form for administering the communion to the sick, because the practice of the thing itself is not in use among them. But the want of it is rather their misfortune than their choice, if what some of them tell us be true, that they cannot have it, because the magistrate permits them not to exercise the offices of their religion but only in public places[49]. Calvin also in his own opinion was entirely for the use of it, as appears from his Epistle to the Church of Mompelgard[50],

[49] So Mr. Drelincourt, cited by Dr. Durel, in his Conformity of the Reformed Churches, ch. 2. s. 1. n. 61. (p. 50.) I will allege one for all.. M. Drelincourt, &c.

[50] [Or, Montbelgard. Ed.]

where he gives them this advice[50]: 'My opinion is, that the custom of giving the communion to the sick ought readily to be admitted, when the sick man's case and opportunity will allow it. But with this proviso, that it be a true communion; that is, that there be a certain number of the faithful to make it some sort of congregation.'

So in another Epistle written about some rites of the Church[51]: 'There are many and weighty reasons which incline me to think that the communion ought not to be denied to the sick. Yet I am sensible this practice is very liable to abuse. Therefore there ought always to be some congregation of the sick man's kindred, or acquaintance, or neighbours, that so distribution may be made according to the law of Christ.' Which is the very rule of the Church of England in the rubric before the Communion of the Sick, that there shall be two or three besides the sick person to make up a congregation.

If it be asked, Why then Calvin did not bring this custom into the Church of Geneva, seeing he so much approved of it? he answers for himself in his Epistle to Olevian[52]: 'You know what reasons I have for granting the communion to the sick; but I would not have any disturbance raised upon that account. The custom is otherwise in our Church; and I acquiesce, because it would not be profitable to contend about it.'

It seems this was one of those things which Calvin freely owns needed a further reformation in the Church of Geneva: but he was willing to tolerate such a defect, lest the danger of alteration might prove more fatal in its consequence than the inconvenience itself; which may teach some men these two

[50] Ep. ad Monsbelgard. (Oper. t. 9. p. 25.) De cœnæ administratione ita sentio, libenter admittendum esse hunc morem, ut apud ægrotos celebretur communio, quum ita res et opportunitas feret.. hac tamen lege, ut sit vera communio, hoc est, ut panis in cœtu aliquo fidelium frangatur.

[51] Ep. ad Quæst. de Quibusd. Ritib. Eccles. (ibid. p. 206.) Cur cœnam ægrotis negandam esse non arbitror, multæ et graves causæ me compellunt. Video interea, quam prochivis in multos abusus sit lapsus, quibus prudenter seduloque occurrendum esset... Conveniat ergo aliquis cœtus oportet ex cognatis, familiaribus, et vicinis, ut fiat distributio ex mandato Christi.

[52] Ep. ad Olevian. (ibid. p. 207.) Quamvis breviter rem attigerim, agnoscis tamen quibus rationibus adductus ægrotos non esse arbitrer a communicatione arcendos. Neque tamen de ea causa velim turbas movere. Scis in hac ecclesia alium esse morem. Acquiesco, quia utile non est contendere.—See also his Respons. 2. ad Westphal. (Oper. t. 8. p. 678.) Objicit secundo, Cœnam Domini, &c.

things by the way. First, that the peace and communion of a Church is not to be broken for every inconvenience or defect. Secondly, that they should not call those things 'the corruptions of our Church,' which wiser men deem the happinesses of her reformation.

But to proceed. The French Church, it is confessed, has no burial-office, neither with nor without a form; no, nor so much as any funeral-exhortation, as I have shown before in the chapter of Liturgies[53]. But then it is not because she thinks such an office or form in itself unlawful, but because of some inconveniences and superstitions, which, so long as Protestants live mixed among the Papists, she presumed would accidentally attend it. For when the French ministers are in other countries, as in England, &c., where this reason ceases, they scruple not to use a funeral-office as others do. Nor do any of them raise those objections against our form of burial that dissenters do. For being brought up in a Church where discipline by reason of continual synods was kept in force, they are sensible that our Office of Burial is a very excellent form, supposing the due exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, upon presumption and hopes of which it was evidently framed. For, allowing the due exercise of discipline, all the objections made against the office will vanish of their own accord; and, as the case stands now with us, the office is not so liable to objection as some imagine. For, as a learned person observes[54], 'There is one thing to be said in this matter, which, though it be not ordinarily taken notice of, seems to be of great moment, and justifies every minister in taking a liberty to omit such passages as our dissenters except against in the burial of Papists, schismatics, or incorrigible sinners.' I add, *notorious and professed heretics, condemned by the unanimous vote of the whole Catholic Church.*

By the rubric all excommunicate persons are excepted from Christian burial; 'Now there are two sorts of excommunication allowed in our Church,—*excommunicatio sub judice,* and *latæ sententiæ;* the first is when men are formally excommunicated by the ecclesiastical judge; the second is that which Mr. Baxter so often talks of. The excommunication *ipso*

[53] See the first chapter of this book, p. 105, preceding.

[54] Dr. Sherlock's Discourse of Church Unity in Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, ch. 2. s. 2. (p. 103.) But yet there is one thing more, &c.

facto, when by the canons of the Church a man who is guilty of such offences as are there specified is declared to be excommunicate before any judicial sentence passes on him. Now the rubric which forbids the burial of excommunicated persons, does not confine this to any one sort of excommunication, and therefore if a minister, either in visiting the sick, or by any other means, finds any man under this sentence, though not actually inflicted on him by an ecclesiastical judge; yet he may, by virtue of this rubric, refuse to bury him by that form prescribed in our Liturgy, because by the canons of the Church he is under the sentence of excommunication. This authority is expressly allowed the minister in repelling those from the communion of the Lord's supper who are notorious and open evil livers; and the same reason holds in the Office of Burial:' as that learned person delivers his opinion, 'with submission to the judgment of his superiors.'

Admitting the truth of this discourse, which I find none of our superiors to have disapproved, it follows that every minister is empowered to deny the use of that office, in whole or in part, to all who have rendered themselves incapable or unworthy of it. And such a limitation does abundantly clear the seeming difficulty that appears at first in assenting to the use of it. Yet because the use of it, even with this restriction, may create great troubles and hatred to ministers, and sometimes vexatious lawsuits to their utter undoing: I cannot but say, with the forenamed author, 'I wish with all my heart that some expressions were altered, to prevent any scandal to the scrupulous or the profane; or, which is more desirable, that discipline were revived, which would soon answer all these objections.' Mr. Baxter himself says the same [55], 'that if true discipline in the Church did make a just separation of the capable and incapable, he could like all the office very well, and even those words which are most excepted against.'

But our adversaries tell us this is another of our Church's faults, 'that she wants ecclesiastical discipline.' That she has not the exercise of discipline in that perfection which were to be wished, I freely own, and the Church herself both owns and laments it: but that she wholly wants ecclesiastical discipline, I utterly deny; for her Rubrics, and Injunctions, and

[55] English Nonconformity, ch. 16. point. 13. (p. 83.)

Canons, which some so much clamour against, are nothing else but what in other Churches are called *Rules of Discipline*. And for that particular branch of it which is called *abstention from the eucharist* and *excommunication*, our Church is not without rules for the exercise of that neither. Every minister, as was but just now observed, has power to repel those from the communion who are notorious and open evil livers, and the bishops have power to proceed to excommunication. If these things are not always done, or not so happily and effectually as it were to be wished, other reasons may be assigned for it; among which I reckon the factions and schisms that divide the Church to be none of the least; for they loosen the bands of ecclesiastical discipline, and make it impracticable in its true perfection; whilst men who are excluded from one communion can be received and caressed in another. And is it not hard for men first to cast blocks in the way, and then charge it as a fault upon the Church, which is her misfortune, and chiefly owing to the iniquity of the times that it is not remedied?

But, admit the decay of ancient discipline were wholly the fault of the Church or her ministers, to what does this charge amount? That therefore there is no discipline in our Church, because it is not in its utmost perfection? Or, that men may lawfully desert her communion, because there is not such exactness observed in the administration of it as were to be wished? Neither of these, I am confident, were the sentiments of Calvin or Beza; though Beza looked upon the face of discipline to be the worst aspect of the Church of England; yet he owns that she was tolerably well reformed in that point also, in comparison of other Churches: and all he desires more is, *plenam ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ instaurationem, the perfect restoration of ecclesiastical discipline;* which is the wish of the Church and all good men in it [55].

Surely he did not think the want of discipline then altogether so great as some imagine, much less a just cause of separation from the Church of England, whose reformation in all respects he so highly extols above most other Protestant Churches.

But suppose there were a total want of discipline in our

[55] See Beza's Epistle Dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth, prefixed to his New Testament, cited above, ch. 2. p. 107. n. 40.

Church, either through necessity, or want of zeal in the ministers, or by some defect in our constitution; yet Calvin will by no means allow any of these to be reasonable causes of separation. 'It was the common case,' he says, 'of the first reformers in all places, when they came to the point of discipline, they could only express their wishes and their groans, but it was not in their power to mend it.' For so he expresses himself in a consolatory Letter to Farel upon this subject, who had complained to him that he could not get discipline settled in his Church. To show him that his case was not singular, he tells him, Melancthon and the rest were under the same unfortunate necessity[56]: 'When discipline comes to be talked of, Melancthon after the manner of others only sighs and mourns about it. For the most he can do is rather to deplore the miserable condition of the Church in this matter than correct it; that you may not think you are the only persons that labour under this misfortune.'

His advice is not that the ministers should forsake their calling, or the people forsake their ministers and the Church, for want of discipline; but to be content to take part in a common calamity, which was their misfortune, not their fault, so long as they had no power to redress it.

In another place he owns that discipline was not rightly exercised at Geneva, but he charges himself with no fault upon that account, because it was not he, but others, that hindered it. 'And yet they had the face,' he says[57], 'to object the want of discipline to him, though they themselves were the causes of it. *Dissipationem cujus ipsi causa sunt, probri loco nobis objectant.*'

Some Protestant Churches have no use of excommunication at all, as the Churches of Helvetia and the Palatinate: yet Calvin is so far from condemning their communion for this defect, that he rather makes a soft and kind apology for them,

[56] Ep. ad Farel. (Oper. t. 9. Epistolar. p. 6.) Ad disciplinam dum venitur, ipse [Melancthon] aliorum more ingemiscit. Magis enim deplorare miseram hac in re ecclesiæ conditionem licet, quam corrigere: ne vos istic solos laborare putetis.

[57] De Necess. Reformand. Eccles. (Oper. t. 8. p. 56.) Dum in opere sumus occupati, illi ad turbanda principia infestos se subinde ingerunt, nec ullam nobis relaxationem permittunt, ut componere domesticum ecclesiæ statum liceat. Postea dissipationem, cujus ipsi causa sunt, probri loco nobis objectant.

presuming they had reasons for what they did; that they set up such a discipline as the times and place, or magistrates and people would admit of. Thus, writing to the ministers of Zurich, where excommunication was laid aside, he says[57], 'All men have not exactly the same sentiments of excommunication at present: I know there are some pious and learned men who think it not necessary under Christian princes; though I hope no sober man disallows the use of it. For my part, I believe it to be a doctrine of Christ. But if a people cannot be prevailed with to take this yoke of Christ upon them, after the pastors have done their endeavour to get it settled, they are excusable, though we are not if we suffer it to be pulled down where it once obtains.'

He that thought the communion of a Church lawful, where excommunication was wholly laid aside as unnecessary under Christian magistrates, would doubtless not condemn a Church where the use of excommunication is settled by law, though there may be some imperfections in the exercise of it.

It is generally agreed that there are some cases in which the exact rigour of discipline would do more harm than good to the Church; as where it would be attended with a general revolt of the people, or a severe persecution: in such cases it has ever been thought a point of Christian prudence rather to relax a little the reins of discipline, than use that which was designed for the Church's edification to her destruction. St. Augustine pleads this above twenty times in his Epistles and writings against the Donatists, which it is none of my business to recite at present; I may perhaps have a more convenient occasion to do it hereafter in an historical account of the exercise of ancient church-discipline[58]: at present I only observe that the French Church, which is famed for the exactness and rigour of synodical discipline, approves St. Augustine's

[57] Ep. ad Ministr. Tigur. (ut supra, p. 75.) Nec me latet, pios et doctos esse homines, quibus sub Christianis principibus non videtur necessaria esse excommunicatio. Atqui neminem fore confido sanæ mentis rectique studii, qui ejus usum improbet. Mihi certe non obscura est Christi doctrina. Sicubi a plebe impetrari non potest, ut hoc Christi jugum suscipiat, postquam strenue eo incubuerint pastores, alia est eorum ratio quam nostra. Nimis enim turpe esset, ædificium, quod nobis tuendum Christus commisit, vivis et videntibus nobis dirui ac everti.

[58] [See Antiquities, b. 16. ch. 3. s. 6. v. 6. pp. 146—158. Ed.]

doctrine, and allows of a mitigation of discipline in the forementioned cases. Thus in the Synod of Rochelle, 1571, the question being put, 'What course should be taken in the censuring of revolters in times of persecution?' it was answered[59] in the words of St. Augustine, concerning a numerous church of drunkards, 'that it were much better to have a vicious church than none at all.'

The following Synod of Nismes, 1572, resolves another case concerning apostates to the Romish religion, who were also become enemies and persecutors of the Church[60]; 'that they should not be formally and publicly by name excommunicated in the Church, because this would only make them rage more bitterly against her, and do her more and greater mischief.' There was no need to excommunicate such who had already abandoned the Church's communion. Private notice to the people to beware of them was sufficient in such cases[61]: 'Therefore all ministers and consistories are warned, in procedures of this nature, to use all manner of moderation and prudence; because that church-censures and canons of discipline are only used for edification and not for destruction; remembering always that saying of St. Augustine, that medicines which are more hurtful than profitable should be wholly forborne.'

If St. Augustine spake the sense of the Catholic Church, and these Synods the sense of the French Church, then there are some allowed cases in which the rigour of excommunication is to be abated, when either delinquents are become very numerous or formidable within the Church, or deserters very malicious and powerful without it; when more harm than good will accrue to the Church by the use of it, and the remedy prove worse than the disease.

So that here are three things fairly suggested by the French writers, in answer to this objection about want of discipline in the Church of England:—

1. That for the main it is a false charge; because excommunication and other parts of discipline are in force by our laws, and when occasion requires reducible to practice.

[59] Ch. 11. art. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 100. A. ibid. p. 113.)
A. v. 1. p. 109.)
[60] Ch. 3. art. 5. (Q. ibid. p. 105.
[61] Ibid. (Q. p. 105 a. p. 114.)

2. Supposing excommunication were wholly laid aside, that would no more make our communion unlawful than it does in the Helvetian and Palatine Churches.

3. There may be particular reasons for mitigating the rigour of discipline in some Churches, and at some seasons more than others: and it should be considered whether that has not for a long time been, and still is, the case of the Church of England: whether the sects and schisms that are among us do not greatly hinder the exercise of discipline; and whether a formal excommunication of all that deserve it might not raise a greater and more dangerous schism than any yet among us, and instead of purging the bad from the good, only enrage a party to contrive her ruin and destruction: whether in such a case it be not better to suffer the tares to grow among the wheat, and patiently bear with some corrupt members of the Church rather than expose her to so great inconveniencies; remembering that saying of St. Augustine's[62] and the Synod of Nismes[63], 'that when medicines will do more harm than good they are to be forborne.'

[62] [There are several sentiments of the kind in Augustine, where he speaks of not exerting the powers of excommunication, when there would be more danger of causing a schism than prospect of healing an evil.—Vid. Ep. 87. al. 164. ad Emeritum. n. 4. (t. 2. p. 210 b.) ... Non ergo reprehendimus si eo tempore, ne multos secum excommunicatus traheret [Optatus], et communionem vestram schismatis furore præcideret, eum excommunicare noluistis, &c..... Ut potius in communione tolerandus existimaretur, quam illud admitteretur, permanetis in eo malo, quod in dividenda ecclesia Christi a vestris majoribus perpetratum est.—Conf. it. Serm. 4. de Jacob. et Esau. c. 32. n. 35. (t. 5. p. 26 e.) Nonne fit modo in ecclesia malis hominibus, qui volunt perturbare ecclesiam, ut tolerentur ad necessitatem ipsius pacis, ut admittantur, ut habeant sacramenta communia. Et aliquando scitur quod mali sunt, et convinci forte non possunt: ut emendentur, et degradentur, ut excludantur, ut excommunicentur non possunt convinci. Si institerit aliquis, aliquando itur in disruptiones ecclesiæ.—It. Serm. 17. de v. 3. Ps. 49. al. Hom. 28. ex Hom. 50. (ibid. p. 95 d.) .... Sed aliquando nos parcimus, et non novimus nisi loqui: excommunicare, de ecclesia projicere pigri sumus, &c.—It. l. 3. contr. Ep. Parmen. c. 2. n. 13. (t. 9. p. 64 b.) Ubi satis ostendit, &c., with reference to our Saviour's words, Matt. 13, 30. See ibid. to the end of chap. 2.—See more in Antiquities, b. 16. ch. 3. s. 6. v. 6. pp. 146—158. nn. 57, 59, 60, seqq. Ed.]

[63] Ch. 3. art. 5. See in Quick, (v. 1. p. 105.) And ministers and consistories are warned in procedures of this nature to use all moderation and prudence; because that church-censures and canons of discipline are only used for edification, and not for destruction, remembering often that saying of St. Augustine, *that medicines* which *are more hurtful than profitable should be wholly foreborne.*—Aymon, as before, (ibid. p. 114.)

Whether this be actually the case of the Church of England, I leave wiser men to determine: if it be, her practice is her prudence; and what others call *her fault* is, properly speaking, the effect of her charity and discretion: but if it be otherwise, if she might have an exact discipline and will not, though that be a fault, yet it will not justify a separation from her, as I have proved from the principles of the French Church.

And so I think I have fully answered this objection about want of discipline in the Church of England.

As to the Commination Office, which was appointed to be used till discipline could happily be restored, it is so useful and innocent that I do not find many persons that have any thing to object against it. Only the authors of the Necessity of Reformation in 1660 bring some railing accusations against it. They say, (p. 21,) 'It is a necessitating people to curse themselves, and employing ministers of the Gospel, whose office is to be the messengers of peace, in cursing the people as part of their office; which is an inhuman and unchristianlike invention, that has no warrant from the Word of God, nor from the practice of the Primitive Church, but is a latter spawn of Antichrist in his Popish services.'

Some men have used their tongues and pens so much to opprobrious language, that they can scarce speak of any thing they dislike but under the reviling names of *Popish* and *Antichristian*. I would ask such men, Whether it be not part of the minister's office to declare God's threatenings as well as his promises? or, Whether the Gospel be all promises and no revelation of the wrath of God against the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men? as St. Paul says it is. (Rom. 1, 18.) If there be declarations of God's judgments in the Gospel, as well as promises of pardon and peace, how comes the one to be the minister's duty more than the other? Or why must the declaration of God's judgments be called 'cursing the people,' or the people's consenting to the truth and equity of them be called 'cursing themselves,' as *cursing* signifies imprecation of evil upon men? concerning which there is not one word in the Commination Office. But if by *cursing* they mean only *denunciation of God's judgments against unrepenting sinners*, then their charge of 'Popish and antichristian' is not so much against our office as the Gospel itself. Perhaps the Primitive

Church had no such set form in her liturgy, nor has the French Church any that I know of: but doubtless the ministers both of the one and the other did frequently do the same thing in their sermons and homilies; notwithstanding that they were ministers of the Gospel of Peace. And I challenge any person to show us any passage in a French writer where such an office is called 'Popish and antichristian.'

Besides the Office of Thanksgiving after Childbirth, which I remember not any objection made against, there remains but one office more in the Liturgy to be spoken to, which is the Form of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; against which Mr. Baxter has a great many objections, in speaking of the Eighth Canon of our Church; which, because they will be more properly considered under that title, I refer the reader to the next Book, and here put an end to this part of my discourse; having made it appear that there is no office in our Liturgy in ordinary use among us, nor any particular rubric or prescription in any office but may be assented to and justified upon the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of France. In some things our Liturgy exceeds theirs, as in the form of absolution and communion of the sick, the want of which Calvin confesses to be defects in his Liturgy which he could not help: in other forms they exactly agree, and in such forms as we have more than they, or they more than we, it is so far agreed that there is nothing repugnant to the Word of God in either. Whence it follows, that they are unreasonable who separate from our Church upon account of the Liturgy, because it is not reformed according to the example of the best Reformed Church.

BOOK IV.

THE OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONSIDERED, AND ANSWERED UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

Of ordinaries and chancellors, and that as strict an oath of canonical obedience is required in the French Church as in the Church of England.

BEFORE I speak of the Canons in particular, it will be necessary to say something of the promise and oath of canonical obedience, which refers to them all in general. In the Form of Ordination this question is put to every priest and deacon: 'Will you reverently obey your ordinary and other chief ministers to whom is committed the charge and government over you; following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourselves to their godly judgments?' And the answer is, 'I will do so, the Lord being my helper!' In like manner every beneficiary when he is instituted into any benefice, swears that he will pay true and canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors *in omnibus licitis et honestis*. Now we have no controversy with dissenters about the meaning of this promise or oath: it is agreed on both sides that canonical obedience in effect is no more than obedience to the orders and canons of the Church, and does not subject men to any unlimited power, or require any new duty from them, but such as the bishop may require by virtue of the canons: so that if the canons be lawful, one would

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second Synod of Vitré, 1617[3]. We have no such oath of canonical obedience in England, and I cannot but think this one thing would have made Mr. Baxter a nonconformist in the Church of France.

2. But he says, suppose our oath of canonical obedience to imply only obedience according to the canons: yet there are abundance of things in the canons which he thinks 'greater sins than he thinks meet to call them.' It would have done well if Mr. Baxter had but kept to this degree of modesty which he here professes; but I believe I shall show that he speaks as bad things of them as he could think of, and with as little reason as modesty, forgetting both the rules of decency and argumentation too: but of this more by and by in the following chapters.

3. He says[4], 'Bishops rule by their chancellors, and suffer laymen to exercise the church-keys by decretive excommunications and absolutions, which wise men think to be sacrilegious usurpation and a profanation of a dreadful part of Christ's government.' Here he begins immediately to exalt his style, and give the Church as hard words as he could think of.

But first, How does he prove that lay-chancellors and civilians use the keys for excommunication and absolution? Why, that he takes for granted, which others tell us is a great mistake. For though civilians are used to declare what is law, yet the sentence of excommunication and absolution is the act of a minister both in court and church-assembly; and if any thing be declared as law which is contrary to canon, the minister is not bound by his oath to execute the sentence. But then perhaps he may suffer for it and be ruined, and the bishop cannot help him. I know of no such cases at present; but if there be any, they concern not the oath of canonical obedience which obliges a minister only to keep a good conscience, but it may be cannot always secure him from suffering.

But, secondly, suppose civilians were allowed to use the keys in England; are there no lay elders allowed in France to exercise church-discipline, neither separately, nor conjunctly with others? He is a great stranger to the affairs of that Church

[3] Ch. 2. art. 1. (Quick, v. 1. p. 478.) We promise before God, &c. Comp. Aymon, art. 26. (v. 2. p. 83.)

[4] English Nonconformity, ch. 6. point 2. (p. 32.)

who knows not that lay-elders have a decisive voice both in consistories, classes, and synods, whether it be to make new rules of discipline, or punish delinquents by the old ones with suspension and excommunication. I will not so much as trouble the reader with a single proof of this, because it is so plain and known a case; but I will acquaint him with one thing, which I believe is not so commonly known, which is, that lay elders by the canons of three national synods successively, had power granted them to exercise discipline, without or against the will of the pastor, so far as to suspend from the Lord's table.

In the Synod of Privas, 1612, a case was moved[5], 'Whether in those churches where there is but one pastor, and an appeal is brought against him, the elders may judge of this controversy.' And the synod determined 'that elders may judge of all emerging differences, yea, so far as of suspension from the Lord's table, matters of doctrine and excommunication only excepted; in which two points elders may not judge without their pastor.'

This canon was confirmed in the next Synod of Tonneins, 1614. Where it is said[6], 'In reading that Article which gives leave unto elders, the pastor being refused and excepted at, to judge of some emerging differences, yea, even to suspension from the Lord's supper, the province of Lower Languedoc demanded that there might be some mitigation of its rigour. But the assembly judged that that article should abide as it was conceived, without any alteration at all.' The same article, being by some means omitted in the transcript of the Acts of that Synod, was inserted by the following Synod of Vitré, 1617, both into their own Acts, and the former Synod of Tonneins, with an order that it should abide in those very self-same words in which it was couched at first[7].

Now let any one judge whether this does not put the exercise of church-discipline more into laymen's hands than can be pretended in the Church of England? And whether the French ministers, while those canons were in force, were not obliged by their oath of canonical obedience to grant lay elders this power, and to submit to their decisions and judgment?

[5] Ch. 5. art. 11. (Q. v. 1. p. 350. A. v. 2. p. 10.)
A. art. 7. v. 1. p. 401.)
[6] Ch. 6. art. 3. (Q. ibid. p. 398. A. ibid. p. 86.)
[7] Ch. 5. art. 2. (Q. ibid. p. 481.

It is true the following Synod of Alez, 1620, a little moderated the rigour of this canon: for they decreed [8], 'that in such a case, where the pastor was excepted against, the elders only by themselves should not proceed to suspend any person from the Lord's table without the presence and approbation of a neighbour pastor.' But still it seems the pastor was to be concluded by their act, if a neighbour pastor did but consent to it. Whence it follows that in such cases every pastor was obliged by canon to take his neighbour pastor for his ordinary, and pay canonical obedience to his admonition and judgment in such things as related to the exercise of church-keys: and yet Mr. Baxter makes this also an objection against the Church of England, that ministers promise at their ordination to obey their ordinary and other chief ministers, to whom is committed the charge and government over them, that is, archdeacons, surrogates, &c. As if persons empowered with authority by canon to oblige others to submit to their judicial acts, were not the same things in France that they are in England, whatever names they are called by.

But if so, 'then we must confess that the power of the keys is not proper to a bishop, but may be validly used by a priest [9].' We confess it: all priests by our laws and canons have the ordinary use of the keys in many cases; they admit persons to baptism, and suspend them from the Lord's table, &c., by virtue of this power, and they are judges, though not sole judges, in these cases, but under the direction of the canons: other priests are intrusted with a larger share of this power, by a more extraordinary and particular commission and delegation from the bishop and the laws, to proceed against delinquents, even to excommunication, &c. Now what follows from hence? Nothing that I can see, but only that it is lawful to promise obedience to any chief ministers thus legally empowered, so far as the canons require it. Which is the direct contrary to what Mr. Baxter by his argument intended.

But he says still [10], 'it is the layman that decreeth the excommunication, which is the judicial act; and when we use a surrogate priest, it is but as an hireling servant to pronounce

[8] Ch. 6. art. 6. (Q. v. 2. p. 10. A. Revision du Synode de Vitré, art. 2. v. 2. p. 151.)

[9] English Nonconformity, ch. 6. point. 2. (p. 35.)

[10] Ibid. (p. 35.)

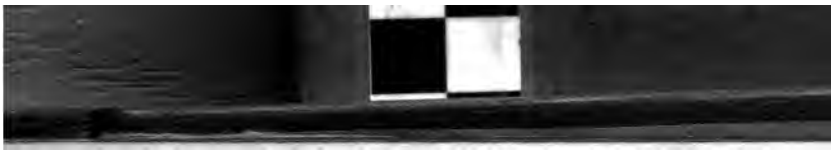
the decree, to *mock the Church with a formality.*' This is a very modest character of the Church and surrogate priests together! Every rule of the Church and every act of a priest is but a formality when it stands in the way of a keen objector. But be it what it will, I have shown that his censures hitherto fall as heavy upon the French Church as they do upon the Church of England.

4. His next reason against the oath is taken from the nature and frame of diocesan episcopacy, 'which,' he says [11], 'is unlawful *tota specie*, and they dare not justify it and its several abuses by confederacy in such an oath.' But I shall show the French Church had another opinion of diocesan episcopacy and our English bishops when I come to speak of the Seventh Canon in the fourth chapter of this Book; and therefore I need not say any thing further here of this objection.

5. 'Bishops are not elected by the clergy and people as by ancient canons they ought to be: therefore they are usurpers. We cannot conceive how any man can be the pastor of those that consent not. Therefore, though we can submit to these and live peaceably, we cannot swear obedience to them [12].' By this rule all the pastors of France are made usurpers: for none of them are elected by the people, but by classes or provincial synods, as I shall evidently make it appear in the fifth chapter of this Book.

His remaining arguments are such as these, which equally affect the French Church [13]: 1. 'It is the prerogative of kings in all nations to have subjects swear allegiance to them, and dangerous to make them swear obedience to every justice or inferior officer.' 2. 'Subjects may be entangled between their oath to the king and such officers.' 3. 'Many oaths make government a snare to the conscientious.' 4. 'Much swearing makes oaths contemptible and brings in perjury.' These would have been excellent reasons in a French synod, where every deputy swore for himself and his province to submit to the canons of the Church, and where so many oaths of canonical obedience, notwithstanding these dangers, were still appointed. But perhaps the French canons are more innocent than ours as to the matter of them. That is the only plea that can bear the face of an argument: but I shall satisfy that by

[11] Ibid. (p. 36.) [12] Ibid. (p. 37.) [13] Ibid.



examining and comparing the particular canons in the following chapters of this Book.

CHAP. II.

That the French Church allows no one to call in question the lawfulness of any part of her Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, agreeably to the Fourth Canon of the Church of England.

The first canon which is commonly objected against is in order *the fourth*, made against the impugners of the public worship of God established in the Church of England in these words: 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the form of God's worship in the Church of England, established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of those wicked errors.'

Mr. Baxter, in his Case of English Nonconformity, gives the Church very hard words upon the account of this canon; he charges it with no less crimes than Puritanism, Pharisaism, and Popery. 'These men,' says he [14], 'that call themselves the Church of England, do not only justify a large volume of forms, orders, rubrics and calendars, but also force all other men to justify it all as sinless; and he shall be no minister that will not do it, nor a Christian member of the Church that denieth it: as if the perfection of their works were an article of the Creed, and necessary to salvation to be believed. Is not this puritanism, pharisaical, and a justification of works?'

It were a much modester question to ask, Whether this be not such a rant and run of boisterous style, as any good man that had looked over his writings in sober thoughts a second time would have thought fit to have softened and corrected? But be the charge what it will, it holds no more against the Church of England than it does against the reformed Church of France, and it may be all other settled Protestant Churches.

[14] Ch. 23, point 20. (p. 106.)

So that, at this rate of arguing, all national reformed Churches shall be Pharisees, Puritans, and Papists together.

As to the Church of France, I have already proved[15], that they oblige every minister not only to subscribe, but many times swear to their Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, Catechism, Administration of Sacraments, &c. Now I hope they would not make men swear to that which they did not at least believe to be agreeable to the Word of God, and were satisfied that it contained nothing in it repugnant to the Scriptures. But if so, then they were Puritans, Pharisees, and Papists, in Mr. Baxter's account, for forcing men to justify a large volume of forms, orders, rubrics, &c., all as sinless. But the Church of England forces the people as well as the ministers to be modest, and not rail at the Liturgy as a corrupt, superstitious, unlawful worship, repugnant to the Word of God, under pain of excommunication. And is it not fit such men's mouths should be stopped, who traduce and speak evil of the worship of God, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, and detriment of piety and religion? Such were the continued declamations of Goodman, Gilby, Penry, and the rest of that strain, which may be seen collected by Bishop Bancroft, in his Book called Dangerous Positions, &c.[16], and which probably might give occasion to the making of this very canon. But whatever was the occasion of it, it is the very same in substance with a canon of the French Church in their Book of Discipline, which is in these words[17]: 'If one or more of the people stir up contention, and do thereby break the Church's union in any point of doctrine or discipline, or about the form of catechizing, or administration of sacraments, or public prayers, or the celebration of marriage, and that private admonitions have not been effectual remedies to appease them; the consistory of that place shall endeavour to compose the whole affair; and in case the dissenters do not acquiesce therein, the consistory shall entreat the classis to assemble at a convenient time and place, they having first engaged the said dissenters in express terms,

[15] [See the third and fourth chapters of the first Book, preceding, pp. 13–27. Ed.]

[16] B. 2. [Lond. 1640. 4to. See in the Index of Authors at the end of this volume, under *Bancroft*. Ed.]

[17] Ch. 5. art. 34. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 35.) [The Author abbreviates the canon, but gives the entire sense, as in several other citations, which I have not thought it worth while to alter or extend. Ed.]

and upon record, to promise, that they will not spread their opinions in any manner or way till the meeting of the classis, upon pain of being censured as schismatics. And if they refuse to give the said promises, they shall be censured for rebels, according to our discipline. Then it is ordered, that if the classis cannot bring them to be quiet and conform, they shall be referred to a provincial synod, and from that to a national synod; unto which if they refuse to yield full obedience, and in express terms to disclaim their recorded errors, they shall be cut off by excommunication from the body of our Church.'

Does not this canon denounce excommunication against obstinate traducers of the French Liturgy, in as full terms as the canon of the Church of England? The only difference is, that the one orders a long process against them, the other proceeds more summarily with them, as supposing the things in controversy to have been sufficiently argued and handled already, and that there need not be recourse to a provincial or national synod upon every such occasion. Meanwhile all proper methods may be used to instruct or convince gainsayers, notwithstanding this excommunication *ipso facto* denounced against them. And it is further to be observed, that this canon is not intended against those who have scruples in their own minds, or modestly propose their scruples to their spiritual guides, in order to obtain satisfaction; but against such only as speak evil of the Liturgy with scandal and offence, and with a malicious design to vilify and disparage it.

CHAP. III.

That the French Church censures impugners of her Articles, and Discipline, and Rites and Ceremonies, according to the Fifth and Sixth Canons of the Church of England.

The Fifth Canon is in these words: 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that any of the nine and thirty Articles .... are in any part superstitious, or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto; let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, &c.'

The Sixth is this: 'Whosoever shall affirm, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are

wicked, antichristian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, &c.'

These canons are to be understood in the same sense and latitude as the former. Every man does not deserve excommunication that has any scruples about any of the Articles or ceremonies, or modestly and seasonably proposes his scruples for information: but the factious and turbulent may deserve it, who declaim against every thing they like not, as wicked, superstitious, and antichristian, and thereby scandalize the weak and disturb the peace of the Church, and destroy its union. Admit that some things in the Articles and ceremonies are matters of small moment: yet it is not a thing of small moment to break the Church's peace by raising contention about them. Suppose they be not articles of faith, nor necessary to salvation, yet peace is a necessary duty, and strife and contention great sins, be the matters never so small which men contend about. Therefore, though men should not deserve to be cast out of the Church for their bare dissent, yet they may for their factious and turbulent spirits, for their bitterness and clamours and evil speakings, for their strifes and seditions and contentious humours: for these things will exclude them from the kingdom of heaven. And it can be no crime to excommunicate such who first by their strife and contention excommunicate themselves. Or if it be a crime, it is such an one as the national Church of France has always been guilty of, who by that canon of their Book of Discipline which I but now mentioned [18], decree, 'that if one or more of the people stir up contention, and do thereby break the Church's union in any point of doctrine or discipline, or about the form of catechising, or administration of sacraments, or public prayers, &c. and cannot be wrought upon in express terms to disclaim their errors, they shall be cut off by excommunication from the body of the Church.'

Is not this to make matters of small moment and dubious, articles of the Creed and necessary to church-communion, as much as the Church of England does? Are not all men cast

[18] See before, n. 17, preceding.

out of the Church that dissent from them? Does not this excommunication extend to laymen in France as well as England? Is it not as harsh there, to lay so great stress on every ceremony of the Church, as to excommunicate every one that calleth any one of them unlawful? Does the Church of England equal her Constitutions to the Ten Commandments and the Creed any more than the Church of France does? And yet thus Mr. Baxter [19] argues against these two canons of our Church, and then cries out, 'What is pharisaical, if this be not?'

He might as well have said it was Turcism, Popery, and Paganism. For what is calumny, if this be not? The Church of England requires all her members, as the Church of France does, to raise no contentions about her doctrine or ceremonies, not to impugn or traduce them as antichristian or unlawful, and thereby raise schisms and divisions about them. And this he calls 'equalling them to the Creed and Ten Commandments,' as if the Church of England required men to take them all for necessary points of faith and terms of salvation; when yet she does not forbid a modest dissent from them, but only men's expressing their dissent in such a way as tends to create divisions, and draw them off from her communion. It is one thing to dissent and err in opinion, and another to express that dissent with contempt and disdain either by word or action. The one may deserve pity, whilst the other calls for censures and rebuke. And if the Church censure such with excommunication, she does no more than what the Primitive Church did and all other settled Churches now do, and what she seems authorized to do by an Apostolical canon: (Rom. 16, 17.) "Mark those that cause divisions among you, and avoid them."

Dr. Sutcliff observed long ago, before our Canons were made, that the practice of France and Geneva was very severe in this particular [20]: 'For that John Morelly disputed in a certain treatise that the words *Tell the Church* belonged not to the consistory, his book was burnt, and the man excommunicated. Two ministers at Geneva were deposed and ba-

[19] English Nonconformity, chapters 24 and 25.

[20] Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, ch. 7. s. 5. (p. 132, near the top.)

nished for speaking against usury allowed in that state; and another was glad to fly for speaking against unleavened bread.'

Monsieur Amyraut, Professor of Divinity at Saumur, delivers it as his opinion from the chair [21], 'That that man is not to be reputed a Christian who despises and tramples on the laws of the Church; forasmuch as they derogate nothing from Christian liberty, and ought not to be esteemed a slavery, being but few in number, where the Church is rightly governed, and are such as recommend themselves to the consciences of men, so that the faithful observe them with a willing mind.'

By this rule then, to rail at the doctrine of the Twentieth Article, which speaks of the Church's power to decree rites and ceremonies, may be a crime deserving excommunication.

Calvin, in one of his Epistles to Viret, speaks of a certain petulant preacher called Maurisius, who was used to vent in his sermons bitter invectives against the ministers of Geneva, and more especially Calvin himself; saying, 'that they were worse than the Papists, and taught false doctrine contrary to the Word of God, &c.'[22] Now it came to be a question among Calvin and his colleagues, what course should be taken with him? Calvin was not very forward to have him censured, because of some personal reflections made upon himself; but the rest were urgent for it, saying [23], 'It was not to be any longer endured, that the common doctrine of the Church should be publicly traduced and condemned, and they see and hear and take no notice of it.'

Calvin says in another of his Epistles, that it is one rule in the Geneva discipline [24], 'that if any one spreads opinions

[21] Amyraldi Thesis de Libertate Christiana, n. 13. inter Theses Salmurienses. (part. 4. p. 163.)..... Pro Christiano putandus non est, qui leges ecclesiæ, ab ejus rectoribus atque conductoribus constitutas, aspernatur atque proculcat. Id vero nihil libertati Christianæ quidquam derogat, neque servitus debet existimari. Nam et illæ leges, si recte ecclesia gubernat, paucæ sunt, et ipsæ se conscientiæ hominum approbant, adeo ut illarum observatio lubenti animo a fidelibus suscipiatur.

[22] Ep. ad Viret. (Oper. t. 9. p. 61.) Indoctus monachus, &c.

[23] Ibid. (p. 61.) Fratres tamen mei instant, Non ulterius ferendum, ut publice, nobis videntibus et scientibus, damnetur communis ecclesiæ nostræ doctrina.

[24] Ep. ad Magistr. Genev. (ibid. p. 76.) Si quis dogmata spargat &c. ....Tunc quidem interdicatur illi usus cœnæ et deferatur ad senatum.

contrary to the received doctrine of the Church, and persists obstinately in them, he is to be suspended from the Lord's table, and complained of to the senate also.' And then 'the senate may proceed against him as a contumacious rebel and despiser of the Church's censures.'

This I am sure is as much if not something more than the present Canons speak of, which are so disliked in the Church of England.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Seventh Canon of the Church of England: that the French Church allows of the English diocesan episcopacy, and thinks it lawful to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of bishops, and condemns those who call them antichristian.

The principal thing in which the Church of France seems to differ from the Church of England is in the point of church-government. They allow no pastor to have any primacy or superiority over another; but by the thirtieth article of their Confession declare them all to be of equal authority and power[25]. But then they do not condemn other Churches which have this inequality among their ministers; nor do they refuse to communicate with them, nor to submit to episcopal government in those Churches where it is legally established, if we may believe either their synods or the best advocates of their cause.

The Synod of Tonneins, 1614, has a whole chapter about expedients for re-uniting the Protestant Churches into one entire body and communion with one another. One of these expedients is this[26]: 'That concerning ceremonies and church-government, a mutual declaration shall be made by the deputies appointed to treat of this union, by which, in the names of

—Conf. ibid. (p. 77.) Sed nominatim hoc ad duas species restringitur: nempe, si qui spargendis falsis dogmatibus, &c.

[25] Vid. in Corp. Confess. (part. 1. p. 103.) Credimus, omnes veros pastores, ubicunque locorum collocati fuerint, eadem et æquali inter se potestate esse præditos sub unico illo capite, summoque et solo universali episcopo, Jesu Christo: ac proinde nulli ecclesiæ licere, sibi in aliam imperium aut dominationem vindicare.

[26] Ch. 18. art. 7. (Q. v. 1. p. 435. A. v. 2. p. 58.)

their principals, they shall declare that the Churches shall not judge or condemn one another for this difference; it not hindering our mutual agreement in the same true faith and doctrine, and that for all this we may cordially embrace each other as true believers and joint members of one and the same body. And as a pledge of this their mutual concord, the Lord's Supper shall be celebrated, wherein the pastors from England and the other nations shall all mutually communicate together.'

Peter Du Moulin was an eminent professor of the French Church about this time, and he wrote an apology for the Confession of Faith against Arnoux the Jesuit, where he delivers his judgment to the same purpose in these words[27]: 'As touching ecclesiastical polity, we do not refuse to acknowledge those for pure and true Churches where equality of ministers is not observed; because we esteem not this order to be a point of faith, nor a doctrine tending to salvation. We live, God be praised, in brotherly concord with the neighbour Churches, which observe another form, and where bishops have some superiority. I know that, under pretence that the Church of England hath another form of discipline than ours is, our adversaries (the Papists) charge us that our religion is diverse. But experience confuteth this accusation; for we assemble with the Englishmen in their Churches, we participate together in the holy Supper of our Lord: the doctrine of their Confession is wholly agreeable unto ours. The most excellent servants of God in our Churches, Peter Martyr, Calvin, Zanchius, Beza, and others, have often written letters full of respect and amity to the prelates of England. He abuseth himself who believeth that the word *bishop*, used in the Holy Scripture, is odious in our Churches; and our adversaries unjustly accuse us to be enemies of the episcopal order. For we must be altogether ignorant in history if we do not know that antiquity speaks honourably of that degree. Eusebius in his Chronicle witnesseth, that a year after our Lord's death James, our Lord's brother, was established bishop of Jerusalem; and that ten years after Euodius was created bishop of Antioch; and that after James succeeded Simon in the bishopric of Jerusalem, from whence descended the succession of bishops in

[27] Buckler of Faith, art. 30. (p. 345.) But as touching, &c.

Jerusalem. St. Jerom, in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, saith that Polycarp, St. John's disciple, was by that Apostle made bishop of Smyrna. In the same book he saith that St. Paul established Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus bishop of Crete. And Tertullian, in the 32nd chapter of the Book of Prescriptions, calleth those Churches *Apostolical Churches*, and *buds and sprigs of the Apostles*, whose bishops were established by the Apostles, &c.'

After a deal more to the same purpose he concludes thus: 'All these allegations,' says he[28], 'tend .... to show, that notwithstanding the diversity of ecclesiastical policy, two particular Churches may live in peace and concord under the band of one faith and religion; and that if sometimes we speak against the authority of bishops, we condemn not episcopal order in itself, but speak only of the corruption which the Church of Rome has induced into it, &c.'

If this learned person rightly understood and represented the doctrine of the French Church, in whose name he speaks, their doctrine is, that though episcopal superiority be not expressly commanded in the New Testament, yet there are some instances of it in apostolical practice, and that it is agreeable to the practice of all antiquity: that it is not to be condemned in those Churches which retain it; and that they would willingly and heartily have submitted to bishops, had bishops been their reformers.

This inclination of theirs to submit to episcopal government is further evident from their ready compliance to some motions of this kind that were actually made to them; particularly to that proposal made by the bishop of Troyes, of which Peter Martyr gives us an account in an Epistle to Beza, at the end of his Common Places. It is as remarkable a passage as any that occurs in the whole history of the Reformation, and therefore I will insert it in his own words[29]: 'The Church of

[28] Du Moulin, ibid. (p. 347.)

[29] Ep. 57. ad Bez. 1561. p. 1143. (p. 801 c. 3.) [Trojæ] numerosa est admodum ecclesia et indies augetur. Episcopus .... jam Christi regnum serio promovet; nec tantum suas oves ipse pure docet, sed quia ei gravis scrupulus injectus est de sua vocatione, quod in ea ecclesiæ et populi electionem seu confirmationem non habuerit, ideo, seniores Ecclesiæ Reformatæ accersivit, rogavitque ut pie ac prudenter dispicerent, an eum vellent eligere, confirmare, ac pro episcopo habere? Quod si judicarent faciendum, se daturum operam, ut sicut cœpit ita pergeret ecclesiam sibi commissam

Troyes is very great and increases daily. The bishop thereof is now become a zealous promoter of the kingdom of Christ, and instructs his flock in the purity of the Gospel. But having a scruple upon him about his calling, because he had not the election and confirmation of the Church and people concurring to it, he therefore sent for the elders of the Reformed Church, and desired them to consult among themselves, prudently and piously, whether they might elect, confirm, and accept of him for their bishop? If they did, he would then go on, as he had begun, to edify and augment to the utmost of his power the Church committed to his charge. But if they thought him not qualified for so great a work, they should deal freely and plainly with him: for in that case he was resolved to resign his bishopric, and live as a private Christian among them. He pressed them again to deliberate upon the matter with the whole Church, and take their most mature advice upon it. Which when they had done, *he was unanimously acknowledged and received by them all as a true bishop* [30], and his authority and piety did great service to the Church of Christ. Praised be God, who takes these methods to govern and advance the kingdom of his Son!'

Can we have a fuller testimony, either of the usefulness of episcopal authority, or of the willingness and readiness of the French to have submitted to it, could they have been so happy as to have had it quietly settled among them? But it was their misfortune at first that they could not have it, though their inclinations led them to embrace it. For no sooner did

docendo et hortando pro viribus ædificare et augere. Sin vero existimarent illum minus idoneum ad tantum munus, libere atque aperte dicerent, se autem paratum esse loco cedere, modo ei liceat in Ecclesia Reformata vivere juxta sanctam Evangelii disciplinam. Rogavitque ut ea de re mature cum ecclesia deliberarent: quod cum factum esset, *ab omnibus unanimiter ut verus episcopus agnitus est et receptus.* Quare illius authoritas et pietas multum ecclesiæ Christi commodat. Deus laudetur, qui ad hunc modum Filii sui regnum gubernat et dirigit.

[30] [Matthias Jagan, bishop of Brandenburg, was a Protestant, and designed to have ordained George, Prince of Anhault, bishop of Mersburg, but died before he could perform it. Wettenhall, Duty of Preaching, ch. 3. (p. 708.) 'Let us hear George, Prince of Anhault, &c.' Upon this necessity, George was ordained bishop of Mersburg by presbyters. Melancthon penned his Letters Testimonial. See Melch. Adam. Vit. German. Theolog. p. 246. (p. 248.) 'Deinde vocatus est ad ecclesias regendas, &c.'—The Letter Testimonial of Melancthon is given on p. 220, following. Ed., from a manuscript note by J. B.]

the Popish party hear of the least suspicion of any bishop's leaning towards the Protestant cause, but immediately the whole power both of France and Rome was armed against them. Thuanus[31] tells us, 'that this example of Caraccioli (for that was the bishop's name) was looked upon by the adverse party to be a matter of such dangerous consequence, that they laboured with all their might to ruin him, and never ceased till they had prevailed with the king to force him to quit his station.'

The Popish authors themselves tell us there were about this time several other bishops in France who were well wishers to the Reformation; such as Odet; Colinius; Cardinal Castilion, the Admiral's brother; Johannes Monluc, bishop of Valence; Sanromanus, bishop of Aix; Johannes Barbanson, bishop of Pamiers; Johannes de Sangelasio, bishop of Utica; Francis de Noailles, bishop of Aquæ Augustæ; Carolus Gillarius, bishop of Chartres, together with Lewis D'Albert and Claudius Reginus, two bishops of the territory of Berne under the Protestant Queen of Navarre. But no sooner did they in the least show themselves favourers of that way, but they were presently accused of heresy, and cited to appear before the consistory of the Inquisition at Rome, where three of them were deprived, and the rest suspended, till they should make their personal appearance, and clear themselves of the heresy laid to their charge. This opposition made most of them draw back and recant, and so they kept their bishoprics: but Cardinal Castilion and Sangelasius, with the bishop of Troyes, turned Protestants, and continued for some time to act as bishops, but at last were forced by the secular power to withdraw, and betake themselves to a private station.

Spondanus[32] is our author for all this; and some intimations of the same thing are given by Thuanus[33], Homerus Tortora[34], Gabutius[35], Catellus[36] et Onuphrius[37], out of whom Spondanus collects his History.

[31] Hist. ann. 1561. l. 28. (t. 2. p. 48 e, seqq.) Cum per Tricasses, &c.

[32] Continuat. Baron. ad Annum 1563, n. 31. (t. 2. p. 645.)

[33] Hist. l. 35. (t. 2. pp. 241, seqq.)

[34] Hist. Franc. l. 3. [Homero Tortora da Pesaro lived in the early part of the seventeenth century, and wrote the *Historia di Francia dall' anno* 1559 *sin all' anno* 1601. *Venetia*, 1619. 2 *vol. 4to.* Ed.]

[35] Vit. Pii V. l. 2. c. 4. (p. 57 d. 8.) Interim vero Galli septem episcopi, &c.—Consult also the whole chapter.

[36] Hist. Occitan. (See Memoires

Luther also dedicates his *Forma Missæ in Usum Ecclesiæ*, Witteberg., to Hausman, bishop of Cygnea Ecclesia, who appears to have been an encourager of the Reformation[38].

Luther in his Epistle to Spalatin[39], cited by Scultetus, says, '*Episcopus tandem unus Christo nomen dedit, et evangelizat in Prussia, nempe Sambiensis, quem fovet ac erudit Johannes Brismannus, quem illuc misimus, abjecto cucullo. Ut et Prussia regno Satanæ valedicere incipiat.*' Scultetus adds, '*Episcopus iste fuit Georgius de Polentia, cui Lutherus Commentarium suum in Genesin inscripsit.*'

Luther and Melancthon wrote Letters of Commendation to John Thurzo, bishop of Breslau, in Silesia, who was a favourer of the Reformation. Their Letters are in Scultetus' Annals[40].

Melancthon's words are very remarkable[41]: '*Qui unus nobis, quod sciam equidem, in Germania episcopi παράδειγμα absolvisti, autoritate, literis, ac pietate. Quod si respublica decem haberet tui similes συμφράδμονες, non dubitarem renasci Christum.*

Scultetus adds[42], 'that the bishop died before he received those Letters, and before the second of August, 1520, *upon which Luther gloried, that this excellent bishop died a Protestant. Ideo Lutherus gloriatur episcopum hunc optimum in fide evangelicâ mortuum esse.*'

By this we see, it was not any aversion the French Protestants had to episcopacy in general, but rather the iniquity of the times, that hindered bishops from being settled among them. And Dr. Du Moulin, son of the famous Peter, before mentioned, confirms this by another instance, in the case of the bishop of Meaux and some others. 'How soon,' says he[43],

de l'Histoire du Languedoc, &c. A Tolose, 1633. fol.)

[37] Vit. Pii IV. ap. Vitas Pontificum cum Platina. (Col. Agripp. 1611. 4to. p. 407.) Ad dedecorosæ sed necessariæ pacis nuncium, &c.

[38] Ap. Oper. (t. 2. part. 2. fol. 586. Corrige 556.)

[39] Ap. Oper. t. 2. p. 183., citante Sculteto, Annal. Decad. 1. ad annum 1524. p. 201. (Heidelb. 1618. p. 204) In Livonia Evangelion oritur, et procedit... Sed et episcopus tandem unus, &c.

[40] Anno 1520. ibid. (pp. 59, seqq.)

[41] [Ap. Scultet. ibid. (p. 62.) where the last clause reads thus,—Quia, si haberet Christiana respublica, ut ille rex Homericus ait, decem tui similes συμφράδμονες, non dubitarem renasci aliquando Christum. —Conf. Hom. Il. β. 372. Ed.]

[42] Ibid. ex t. 2. Epist. Luth. p. 7. (p. 63.) Non vidit autem has literas episcopus: obiit enim, &c.

[43] See the Preface to his father's Book, entitled *The Novelty of Popery* (p. 3.)

'both pastors and people may be brought to submit to bishops hath been tried by the bishop of Troyes, and that of Meaux, who, as soon as they began to forsake the errors of Popery, were acknowledged by the Protestant Churches within the verge of their jurisdiction for their diocesans. The archbishop of Vienna and bishop of Orleans were once about to have done as much, and would have found the like obedience from the Protestant party; but the great stream of the State proved too strong for them to swim against.'

He tells us further, there was a time when some of their prime men, feeling the inconveniences that follow the want of ecclesiastical subordination, moved Cardinal Richelieu to place it among them by his authority, pretending that it would bring them nearer to the Roman Church: but he flatly denied to give way to it, and told them[43], 'If you had that order you would look too like a Church.'

The same author gives us there also the judgment of that eminent man, Du Plessis Mornay, whose learning and government made him equally famous in the French Church[44]. His opinion was[45], 'that though presbyterian government might agree very well with popular states, such as Geneva and Switzerland; yet in kingdoms and monarchies episcopal government was rather to be chosen, to sustain the dignity of the Church, and shelter it from oppression, &c.'

All which proves, that though the French Protestants were willing to justify their own government as an allowable thing among themselves; yet they were far from crying down episcopacy as antichristian, or pulling down bishops merely to set up themselves. Calvin himself was as far from this as any man: witness that solemn declaration of his, in his Book *De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ*[46]. 'Give us such an hierarchy,' says he,

[43] Du Moulin, ibid. (p. 2.)

[44] [Philip de Mornay, Lord Du Plessis Marley, was a most celebrated Protestant statesman and controversial writer, as well as for many years the friend and adviser of the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Fourth of France. In 1600 he held a public discussion with the famous Cardinal Du Perron, bishop of Evreux, on the chief points of difference between Papists and Protestants. He died in 1623. Ed.]

[45] Du Moulin, as just above. (p. 8.)

[46] Int. Oper. (t. 8. p. 60.) Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant, in qua sic emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent; ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur, ... tum nullo non anathemate dignos fateor, si qui erunt qui non eam reverenter summaque obedientia observent.

'in which bishops preside, who are subject to Christ, and him alone as their only head; and then I will own no curse too bad for him that shall not pay the utmost respect and obedience to such an hierarchy as that.'

Beza was of the same mind, with relation particularly to the bishops of England: 'The Church of England,' says he[47], 'after the Reformation, was supported and stood by the authority of archbishops and bishops, of which order she had many, not only famous martyrs, but excellent doctors and pastors: and may she for ever enjoy that singular blessing of God upon her!'

The truth is, Calvin and Beza and the French Church set up such a government and discipline at the Reformation as the state of their affairs would bear; but they never absolutely condemned episcopacy, or thought their own model ought to be a rule to other Churches. Beza expressly disclaims that as a false and slanderous imputation in any that should say[48], 'they prescribed their own example to be followed by any other Church; like those ignorant men, who think nothing right done but what they do themselves.'

So that if any zealots among the French have either condemned episcopal government as unlawful, or sought to impose their own form as necessary upon other Churches; they had no authority for so doing, either from their first reformers, or their national synods, or the best writers in their own Church, who, as I have shown, have always spoken honourably of the English diocesan episcopacy, and expressed themselves ready to submit to such a form of government, if ever it could have been settled among them. Let but the same temper and moderation be shown by our English dissenters, and then this controversy about bishops must needs have an end: but whilst

[47] Respons. ad Sarav. c. 18. (Ed. 1592. p. 111.) Quod si nunc Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ instauratæ suorum episcoporum et archiepiscoporum auctoritate suffultæ perstant, (quemadmodum hoc illis nostra memoria contigit, ut ejus ordinis homines non tantum insignes Dei martyres, sed etiam præstantissimos pastores ac doctores habuerint,) fruatur sane Anglia ista singulari Dei beneficentia; quæ utinam illi sit perpetua!

[48] Ibid. c. 21. (p. 126.) Immo cunctos sic hodie appellatos [archiepiscopos seu episcopos] modo sanctorum illorum episcoporum exemplum imitentur et tam misere deformatam domum Dei ad amussim et Verbi divini regula pro viribus instaurent, ut Ecclesiæ Christianæ fides [? *fidi* al. *fideles*] pastores, cur non agnoscamus? observemus? et omni reverentia persequamur? &c.

they continue to decry episcopacy as antichristian, and seek to destroy the order as unlawful, and invade the power of bishops by ordaining ministers, against their authority legally settled among us; they may not flatter themselves to think their case is the same with that of the French Church: for if there be any truth in what I have now discoursed, their practice in every point does manifestly contradict it. Calvin himself would not have scrupled to subscribe the Seventh Canon of our Church, which says, 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the government of the Church of England under his Majesty by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is antichristian or repugnant to the Word of God; let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, &c.' For what does he say less in those words which I have cited before[49]? 'I confess no excommunication too bad for them that will not pay the utmost respect and obedience to such an hierarchy as that.' If it be said, that Calvin mentions neither archbishops, deans, nor archdeacons, nor the rest that bear office in the Church of England: it is true; but he that approves of bishops as settled in England does virtually and consequentially approve of all the rest mentioned in that canon, and may with a safe conscience submit to their government, as not repugnant to the Word of God.

It is certain the French authors themselves thus understand Calvin, as speaking of the English hierarchy. Monsieur De l'Angle, minister of the French Church at Charenton, in his Letter to the Bishop of London, 1680, cites his authority to the same purpose that I have done. 'Since the Church of England,' says he[50], 'is a true Church of our Lord; since her worship and doctrines are pure, and have nothing in them contrary to the Word of God; and since that, when the Reformation was there received, it was received together with episcopacy, and with the establishment of the Liturgy and ceremonies, which are there in use at this day; it is without doubt the duty of all the reformed in your realm to keep themselves inseparably united to the Church. And those that do not this, upon pretence that they desire more simplicity in their cere-

[49] See p. 46, preceding.

[50] See this Letter at the end of Bishop Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation. (p. 421. p. 414, for the French.) Car puisque l'Eglise Anglicane, &c.

monies, and less inequality among the ministers, do certainly commit a very great sin. For schism is the most formidable evil that can befall the Church: and for the avoiding of this Christian charity obliges all good men to bear with their brethren, in some things much less tolerable than those now in dispute ought to seem, even in the eyes of those that have the most aversion for them. This was so much the opinion of our great and excellent Calvin, that in his treatise of the Necessity of the Reformation he makes no difficulty to say, that if there should be any so unreasonable as to refuse the communion of a Church that was pure in its worship and doctrine, and not to submit himself with respect to its government, under pretence that it had retained an episcopacy qualified as yours is, there would be no censure nor rigour of discipline that ought not to be exercised upon them.'

To this I add the testimony of Monsieur Daillé, shown me by the kind information of a learned and worthy person of that Church, in his book called *Replique à Messieurs Adam et Cottiby*[51]: 'Calvin himself honoured all bishops that were not subjects of the Pope, and that taught the pure and sincere doctrine of the Apostles, purged from the leaven of human traditions; such as were the prelates of England, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Hooper, bishop of Worcester; and others. We ourselves also have ever maintained, and do still maintain, the same Christian communion in faith and charity with their successors, notwithstanding the different manner of ecclesiastical government that is found betwixt them and us. We confess that the foundation of their charge is good and lawful, established by the Apostles, according to the command of Christ, in the Churches which they founded.' And this he says is the difference betwixt bishops and the Pope and monks[52], 'that the latter were never instituted by Jesus Christ, nor by his Apostles; nor can there any footsteps of their order be found either in the Word of God, or in the genuine monuments of the ancient Church.'

[51] Part. 3. ch. 20. (p. 261.) Aussi est-il clair que Calvin luymesme a honoré les evesques, &c.

[52] Ibid. (p. 262.) Mais quant au Pape, et aux moynes, nous ne croyons pas, qu'ils ayent jamais été instituez pas Jésus Christ, ni pas ses Apôtres, et ne treuvent aucune trace de leur ordre, ni dans la parole de Dieu, ni dans les vrays monumens du premier Christianisme, &c.

The title of the chapter has the same words [53], 'There is this grand difference between bishops, and the Pope and monks, *que l'episcopat est institué de Dieu, that episcopacy is instituted of God;* but popes and monks are the inventions of men, and are the authors of disorder and abuses.'

This plainly refers the original of episcopacy to apostolical and divine institution. Some others, I confess, among whom are Ludovicus Capellus and Rivet, do not carry it so high, but derive it only from ecclesiastical order: yet they all agree in this, that to make a separation in a Church upon the account of episcopacy, where it is regularly settled and reformed according to the model of the Ancient Church, is criminal schism and a breach of the unity and peace of the Church. Dr. Rivet says expressly [54], 'that if Aërius separated from the Church for the distinction of superiors and inferiors, he was a bold and schismatical man; because such distinction was introduced into the Church at least by human order, upon very just and reasonable causes, and is no ways contrary to the faith.'

I leave those who are concerned to make the application.

CHAP. V.

Of the Eighth Canon: that the French Church does not impugn our Form of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or say they are not true bishops, priests, and deacons, who are ordained by it until they have some other calling: that they allow not the people in France to choose their own pastors, &c.

The words of the Eighth Canon are, 'Whosoever shall affirm or teach that the Form and Manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, contains any thing in it that is repugnant to the Word of God; or that they who are made bishops, priests, and deacons in that form are not lawfully made, nor ought to be accounted either by themselves or others to be truly either bishops, priests, or deacons, until

[53] Ibid. (p. 259.) Article 22.

[54] Catholic. Orthodox. tractat. 2. quæst. 23. n. 6. (t. 3. p. 175. col. ministr. sub fin.) Audax fuit et schismaticus [Aërius], si ob inferiorum ac superiorum distinctionem, fidei non contrariam ac æquis de causis humana institutione introductam, se ab ecclesia separavit.

they have some other calling to those divine offices, let him be excommunicate *ipso facto*, &c.'

The doctrinal part of this Canon is the very same with the Thirty-sixth Article, which says, 'The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that Book, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly and orderly and lawfully consecrated and ordered.'

So that every one who can subscribe the doctrine of this Article must needs allow the same to be true in the Canon also. But I have proved before in the first and following chapters of the second Book, that the French Church allows our Articles both in general and particular as lawful to be subscribed; and I have made it appear in the very last chapter before this, that the French have no exception against our diocesan bishops or their ordination. So that the only difficulty which seems to remain is as to practice: whether it be fit to excommunicate such as vent their dislike of our bishops, priests, or deacons, in such a way as the Canon specifies; that is, who say they are so unlawful and repugnant to the Word of God as that they ought not to be taken for lawful bishops, priests, or deacons, until they have some other calling to their respective offices? We say, they deserve excommunication; but Mr. Baxter says, no; and undertakes their apology, and offers reasons against the Canon. I will first show briefly what reason there was for making the Canon, and then examine his reasons against it.

Bishop Bancroft, in his book called Dangerous Positions, &c., tells us[55], 'it was become a common practice in Queen Elizabeth's days, among those who liked not the discipline and government of the Church of England, to renounce the calling which they had from the bishops, and take it again from the approbation of the classis: they were content to accept orders from the bishop as a civil matter, but did not thereby account

[55] B. 3. ch. 14. (p. 113.)

themselves ministers, until the brethren of some classis had allowed them: they taught that all ministers who were called according to the order of the Church of England were unlawful; and therefore urged as many as they durst trust to seek at their classis a new approbation, which they termed *the Lord's ordinance.*'

Now when we consider that Bishop Bancroft was president of the Convocation when the Canons were made, we cannot doubt but that this history points out to us the plain reason of the present Canon. A design was formed to nullify all the orders of the Church of England, and subvert its whole discipline, government, and constitution, by pretending that her ministers were no lawful ministers, nor could officiate as such until they had another calling more consonant to the ordinance of God. And was it not high time to give a check to such a pretence as this? Could any established Church, in prudence, suffer such dangerous positions and practices to go uncensured? Can any man think the national Synods of France would have tamely suffered unreasonable men thus to have struck at the foundation of their ministry, and call in question the legality of their whole order and constitution, without so much as threatening them in case of obstinacy with excommunication? They who rose up so severely against the independent principles, as I have shown they did [56], because they thought them pernicious and destructive of their classical and synodical constitution, would doubtless much more have exerted themselves against any that should presume to null their whole ministry and manner of ordaining.

But it may be, the form and manner of ordaining in the French Church is not so liable to exception as the forms of the Church of England. To which I say, supposing our forms to be lawful, as the French Church in subscribing our Thirty-sixth Article owns them to be, there can be no difference, at least no material objections against the one, which will not equally hold against the other. And if we examine Mr. Baxter's arguments, we shall plainly find it so.

In the 27th chapter of his English Nonconformity [57] he offers five arguments to prove it lawful to call our ordinations sinful. His first is, 'that we thereby obtrude pastors on the churches,

[56] B. 1. ch. 1. pp. 9–11. [57] Point 24. (p. 115.)

upon the bare choice of a patron, without or against the people's wills.' But if the nomination of the patrons must be called *obtruding*, then pastors might have been obtruded upon the churches in France. For by several of their canons, patrons are allowed the same liberty of presenting and right of nomination as they have in England. The Synod of Vitré, 1583, says expressly[58], 'gentlemen and others, enjoying right of patronage, shall not be urged to forsake their just titles.' The Synod of Montauban, 1594, says further[59], 'that lay-patrons may enjoy their privilege of laying claim by protestation unto their rights and emoluments, that so their title to them may be preserved, though they could not at present collate, because none but Papists might be collated, and it was against their conscience and religion to collate them.' But this I think plainly implies, that by the laws of the Church they had liberty to collate Protestant ministers, whenever the laws of the realm would give way to it.

But whatever became of the right of patrons, it is certain the people had no right of nominating or electing; no, nor yet of consenting, any otherwise than they have in England. For the right of probation and election belonged wholly to classes and synods, and all that the people had power to do was only to object against the nominated party; but if they had nothing material to object against him, their silence was taken for consent, and the minister was immediately ordained, without asking any other vote or consent of the people. He is much mistaken who thinks that pastors in France were chosen by poll or popular election.

Their Book of Discipline[60] refers the election of ministers wholly to classes, or to provincial synods: 'A minister of the Gospel, unless in times of difficulty and cases of very great necessity, in which he may be chosen by three pastors, together with the consistory of the place, shall not be admitted into this holy office but by the provincial synod or a classis composed of seven pastors....And the minister elect shall be presented with good and valid testimonials, not only from the universi-

[58] Ch. 2. art. 15. (Q. v. 1. p. 145. A. art. 14. v. 1. p. 161.)

[59] Ch. 4. art. 44. (Q. ibid. p. 165. A. art. 43. v. 1. p. 184.) See also the Book of Discipline, ch. 14. art. 3. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 54.)

[60] Ch. 1. art. 4. (Q. ibid. p. 17.)

ties and particular churches, but also from the classis of that church where he hath been most conversant.'

Here we see ministers are called elect, not from the election of the people, but from the choice of provincial synods or classes: and though in cases of great necessity three pastors and the consistory of the place were allowed to choose, yet the election is never referred to the vote of the people.

The next canon says[61], 'After the synod or classis have examined any minister elect, they shall notify his election by their act or letters to the church whither he is to be sent, and their letters shall be delivered or read to them by a pastor or elder.' This again plainly shows, that the election is made before the people have any knowledge of it.

Then follows in the sixth canon what it is the people are allowed to do[62]: 'He whose election shall be declared unto the Church shall preach publicly on three several Sabbaths in the audience of the whole congregation, and the said auditory shall be expressly charged, that if any one of them do know any impediment, for which his ordination, who shall be then mentioned by his name, may not be completed, or why he may not be accepted, that they do then come and give notice of it unto the consistory, which shall patiently hear the reasons of both parties, that so they may proceed to judgment. The people's silence shall be taken for a full consent.' This was all the people had to do in the election of their pastors, which can no more be called *election*, than in our congregations the people may be said to elect husbands and wives for persons to be married, because whenever the banns are published they are charged, 'that if any one of them do know any cause or just impediment why those persons should not be joined together in holy matrimony, they should declare it.' Only in the French canon, lest eternal quarrels and animosities should rise between pastor and people, in case they were obstinately though wrongfully set against him, there is this proviso made, 'that although the minister elect be justified in synod against all impeachments brought against him by the people, yet shall he not be given as pastor to that people against their will, nor to the discontentment of the greatest part of them.' And there may be something of prudence in this, for which reason it is

[61] Art. 5. (ibid. p. 17.) [62] Ibid. (p. 17.)

also commonly practised in England: but still I say this does not give the people power of election. For at most it is but an indulgence of their weakness and passions in some particular cases, when differences cannot otherwise be composed; which is far from granting them a proper and inherent right of choosing their pastors.

And I must add, that at Geneva there is no such regard had to the people's moroseness; but they must have some real objections, of which the magistrates make themselves judges. Their manner of electing and calling ministers, as Beza describes it, is thus[63]: 'First they are examined, both as to learning and morals, by a classis of both city and country ministers, which meet weekly on Fridays at Geneva. Then such as are approved by the ministers are presented to the senate. The senate again examines both their doctrine and morals, and if they like them, they give them their approbation; if not, the ministers proceed to a new examination of other persons. When the examination is ended, the Sunday following the probationer's name is publicly mentioned in every church of the city, and particularly that church of the city or country where he is designed to serve; and if any one knows any impediment which may render him unfit for the ministry, he is required within eight days to give notice of it to the magistrate; if nothing be objected against him, he is then immediately ordained, and sent to take possession of his cure.'

In this whole affair the people's consent is not so much as asked; but only if they have any thing to object, they may give information to the magistrates, who have power with the classis to hear and judge of the reasonableness of their objec-

[63] Ep. 20. (p. 139.) Deliguntur, præeunte diligenti morum et doctrinæ examine, pastores et ministri Verbi, primum ab ipso pastorum cœtu, qui tum ex agro tum ex urbe singulis hebdomadibus feria sexta cogitur. Sic probati ministris senatui offeruntur. Senatus, ubi et ipse in doctrinam ac mores illius inquisivit, suffragium suum addit, si libet; sin minus, novus rursum probatur. Ita demum in publico conventu, die Dominico, in singulis templis civitatis, ac potissimum in ea ecclesia, cui vel in urbe vel in agro præficiendus ille est, editur probati illius nomen; et monentur omnes, ut, si quid in eo observarint, quamobrem sit ministerio indignus, hoc ad magistratum, modeste et citra omnem calumniam, intra octiduum deferant. Qui demum ita probatus est, tandem publicis coram populo precibus Deo commendatus, et officii sui copiose admonitus, in possessionem ministerii mittitur.—Conf. Calvin. Ep. ad Olevian. (Oper. t. 9. p. 142.) Primum eliguntur, &c.

tions. And the very same liberty is allowed the people in the Church of England.

1. But Mr. Baxter thinks this is 'against ancient canon and the privilege of the people in the Primitive Church.' A great many learned persons not only think but prove the contrary [64]. But admit Mr. Baxter were in the right: does our practice differ more from ancient canon than that of France and Geneva does? Beza had the same objection thrown in his way; and his answer was, 'I do not think we are so much to consider what was done in some places about the election of bishops in the Primitive Church, as by what right and with what success they did it [65].' His meaning is, first, that the practice was not general, but only in some parts of the Church: secondly, that it was no divine and inherent right of the people, but only what they had obtained by custom and indulgence: thirdly, that many great inconveniences did attend it: for popular elections were commonly accompanied with popular tumults, as it was too frequently verified in this very case, in those places where popular elections were grown into fashion: and therefore there was good reason to make canons, as many of the primitive councils did, to lay some restraint upon this pretended power of the people.

I hope this is a full answer to Mr. Baxter's first argument, whereby he would prove the ordinations of the Church of England sinful, because they obtrude pastors upon the churches without or against the will of the people.

2. His next argument is [66], 'that our ordinations are sinful, because the Church ordains such as by canon she forbids to preach or expound any doctrine.' I presume he means the Forty-ninth Canon, which shall be considered in its due place, in the tenth chapter following. Here I only observe that there is no consequence at all in this argument. For admit the canon he speaks of were faulty: that would not prove our Forms of Ordination sinful; because they were used above fifty years before that canon was made. The Church might be to

[64] See Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, part 3. sect. 25. (pp. 314, &c.)

[65] Ep. 83. (p. 402.) Quid vero fuerit in multis locis in vetere ecclesia usurpatum in episcoporum electionibus, non tam spectandum arbitror, quam quo jure et quo successu fuerit factitatum.

[66] English Nonconformity, ch. 27. (p. 115.)

blame for making such a canon, if it were faulty; but that would not affect her Forms of Ordination.

3. He says[66], 'we determine that bishops, priests, and deacons are three distinct orders, which yet is an undetermined controversy among even the most learned Papists.' And what follows hence? Why, that we damn and cut off men for that which the very Papists leave at liberty.' I must here take leave to say again, that Mr. Baxter was out in his argumentation. For our Church does not damn or cut off all that think that bishops, priests, and deacons are not three distinct orders, in the sense in which the Papists take *order* as distinct from *jurisdiction;* nor do all that deny them to be three distinct orders in that sense call in question the lawfulness of our bishops, priests, or deacons, or nullify our Forms of Ordination. Many French writers think bishops and priests to be the same order; and yet they do not say that our Forms of Ordination are repugnant to the Word of God, or that those are no true bishops or priests that are made by them: nor, on the other hand, does the Church of England damn or cut them off from her communion because they believe bishops and presbyters to be the same order. Some of our best episcopal divines, and true sons of the Church of England, have said the same, distinguishing betwixt *order* and *jurisdiction*, and made use of this doctrine and distinction to justify the ordinations of the Reformed Churches against the Romanists. So Mr. Mason[67], Dr. Forbes[68], Bishop Usher[69], and others, who yet defend episcopal superiority and jurisdiction as of divine appointment, at the same time that they say bishops and presbyters are but one order. And will Mr. Baxter's argument ever be able to persuade the world that these men liked not our Forms of Ordination, or that the Church damned her own sons and champions, and cut them off from her communion? Yet this is the method he takes to prove our Forms of Ordination sinful; because they damn all that do not say bishops, priests, and deacons are three distinct orders. Respect to truth and

[66] Ibid.

[67] Defence of the Ordination of Protestant Ministers beyond Seas, (p. 132.)

[68] Irenicum, l. 2. c. 11. De Jure præsidentiæ et regiminis episcopalis. (pp. 129, seqq.)

[69] Judgment, No. 3, of the Ordination by Presbyters in other Reformed Churches. (Lond. 1657. pp. 112, seqq.) See also (pp. 123, seqq.) A Letter to Dr. Bernard, &c.

modesty, if not to the Church of England, might have engaged a wise man to have dropped this argument, which makes such a wild conclusion.

4. But he says[70] 'we ordain men to an office which the Scripture maketh no mention of: for Dr. Hammond saith it cannot be proved there were any presbyters subject to bishops in Scripture-times, nor any but bishops: none that had not power of ordination and the keys; nor any bishops of a multitude of churches and presbyters, both which are here ordained: *ergo*, our Forms of Ordination are sinful.'

But, first, what if Dr. Hammond was mistaken? What then becomes of this argument? Admit, secondly, that there were no presbyters subject to bishops mentioned in Scripture: how does it follow that our Forms of Ordination are sinful? Does Dr. Hammond say so? No. Does the French Church say so? No. Does the practice of the Primitive Catholic Church condemn our Forms? No; for she ordained bishops, priests, and deacons after the same manner. Only Mr. Baxter will bear us down against all opposition and authority that our Forms are sinful. But to lay aside authority and answer to this reason: suppose in Scripture-times every bishop's church was but a single congregation, and that for that time he had no need of presbyters to assist him: yet why might not he be then invested with a power to ordain himself as many presbyters or assistants as he should need, when the number of converts in any city or diocese became too great for a single congregation? Then it will not follow, that because there were no presbyters subject to bishops in Scripture-times, that therefore the Scripture makes no mention of the office; or, because there were no such presbyters whilst the bishops had no occasion for them, that therefore there never should be any when they should have occasion for them. Yet this is Mr. Baxter's way of proving our order of bishops and presbyters to be unlawful: which is as much contrary to Dr. Hammond's sense, to the sense of Scripture, to the sense of the Catholic Church and the French Church, as it is to the Church of England.

5. His last argument is[71], 'that our ordinations are sinful, because they make bishops swear obedience to archbishops and their sees; and priests to covenant obedience to their ordinaries.'

[70] Ch. 27, as before, (p. 115.)

[71] As before, (p. 115.)

But I have already shown, in the first chapter of this Book, that the French Church does the same in effect, requiring an oath of canonical obedience and submission to classes and synods, which answer to ordinaries in the Church of England.

Upon the whole it appears, that notwithstanding these objections, our Forms of Ordination are lawful in the opinion of the French Church; and though men might have leave to dissent, or express their dissent in a modest way, as Mr. Baxter pleads, yet to do it in that dangerous and disorderly way which the Canon mentions, tending manifestly to subvert and destroy the whole constitution, may be a crime deserving the penalty of excommunication by the French discipline as well as that of the Church of England, though Mr. Baxter is of a contrary opinion from both.

CHAP. VI.

That the French Church reckons schismatics and their maintainers to be out of the visible Catholic Church, and denies communion to them till they return and make satisfaction.

The next Canons which Mr. Baxter finds fault with are the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh, against schismatics, and maintainers of schismatics, and maintainers of conventicles.

Can. 9. 'Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians, who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, &c.'

Can. 10. 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England, prescribed in the Communion Book, and their adherents, may truly take unto them the name of another Church not established by law, &c.; let them be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent, &c.'

Can. 11. 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that there are

within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful Churches; let him be excommunicated, &c.'

Now there is nothing in these Canons but what is agreeable to the practice and discipline of the French Church, which reckons all excommunicated persons and schismatics to be cut off and separated from the communion of the visible Catholic Church, by being separated from those particular Churches whereof they ought to be members; and consequently esteem all meetings or assemblies of such persons to be illegal conventicles, not true and lawful Churches, since there can be no such out of the communion of the visible Catholic Church.

Among Beza's Epistles there is one to the French Church in London, wherein he passes his judgment upon certain articles which they had drawn up and sent to him to desire his opinion of them; two of which are to our present purpose: First, on their twenty-first article[72]: 'They who are either lawfully excommunicated, or do unlawfully and with scandal withdraw themselves from any Church, forasmuch as they banish themselves from the kingdom of Christ and salvation, may not be admitted to perform any public offices of the Church, or be allowed the use of the sacraments in any Church, till they have made legal satisfaction, &c.' Next, their thirteenth article is to the same purpose[73]: 'That whoever is lawfully excommunicated in any particular Church, or unlawfully cuts himself off from it, does thereby exclude himself

[72] Ep. 24. ad Eccles. Peregrin. art. 21. (p. 164.) Qui legitime excommunicati sunt, aut qui illegitime ac cum offensione ab aliqua ecclesia desciverunt, quandoquidem a Christi regno et salute exsulant, ad nulla publica ecclesiæ ministeria obeunda aut sacramentorum usum in ulla ecclesia admitti possunt, donec ecclesiæ legitime satisfecerint.

[73] Ibid. ant. (p. 159.) Porro quemadmodum quivis fidelis, fidem profitendo et sacramentis utendo in particulari aliqua ecclesia, inseritur in catholicam Dei ecclesiam; ita e diverso, quicunque aut ab eadem particulari ecclesia ob suam malitiam legitime excommunicatur, aut seipsum ob ullas causas illegitime aut cum data offensione exscindit, eo ipso omnibus catholicæ Dei ecclesiæ privilegiis excidit, nec hanc ob causam in ullam usquam aliam particularem ecclesiam ulla ratione admitti poterit, donec ad meliorem mentem redierit, ac pro dicta sua malitia satisfecerit.

from all the privileges of the Catholic Church, and is not to be received into any other particular Church without making satisfaction &c.'

Is not this as severe against schismatics as the Canons of the Church of England are? To say that schismatics exclude themselves from all the privileges of the Catholic Church; that they exile themselves from the kingdom of Christ and salvation; that they may not be admitted to perform any public offices of the Church, nor be received into communion with any particular Church till they have made legal satisfaction? If such persons should have combined themselves into a society and called themselves a Church, would Beza or the French Church have allowed them the name of a true and lawful Church, whom they did not esteem members of the Catholic Church, and thought them unworthy of communion in any Church till they repented and made legal satisfaction?

The canons of the French Church are no less severe against schismatics, whilst they renew that ancient canon of the Primitive Church, 'that no person who forsakes the communion of his own Church shall be received into another.' Their canons commonly run in this style, as particularly that of Lyons does, anno 1563[74]: 'Vagrants, heretics, and schismatics, shall be notified to all Churches that they may be aware of them.' That is, as I suppose, that they may not be allowed to perform any public offices as ministers, nor be admitted to communion as private Christians. Certainly then they would not allow such to set up separate meetings, and dignify them with the name of true and lawful Churches. And if Mr. Quick has rightly published the French Confession, in its twenty-sixth article they have much harder words given them: for there it is said[75], 'that they that separate themselves from the

[74] Ch. 9. art. 25. (Q. v. 1. p. 34. A. art. 2. v. 1. p. 35.)

[75] Quick, ibid. (Introduct. v. 1. p. 12.) [Conf. Ed. Lat. Confess Gallic. art. 26. ap. Corp. Confess. (part 1. p. 107.) Credimus, nemini licere sese cœtibus subducere et in se ipso acquiescere, sed potius omnibus simul tuendam et conservandam esse ecclesiæ unitatem, sese communi institutioni et jugo Christi subjiciendo, ubicumque Deus veram illam disciplinam ecclesiasticam constituerit, etiam si magistratuum edicta reclament, a quo ordine quicunque se ipsos sejungunt, ordinationi Dei resistunt. Ps. 5. Ps. 42. Eph. 4, 11. Hebr. 10, 25. Act. 4, 19. Act. 5, 29. Ed.]

congregations of God's saints, do resist the ordinance of God, and in case they draw others aside with them, they do act very perversely, and are to be accounted as mortal plagues.'

If it be said, as Mr. Baxter says, that we allow the Church of Rome the name of a true Church, and that schismatics are at least as true a Church as the Church of Rome; I answer, this is only playing with an equivocal sense of the word *true Church*, which may either signify a Church with which it is lawful to communicate in all points as the word *true* and *lawful Church* is taken in the Canons; or else a Church so much corrupted that a man cannot lawfully and with safety communicate with it, notwithstanding there may be so much of the remains of Christianity in it, as that she may bring forth sons to God by baptism, which need not be repeated: in which sense Protestants commonly allow the Church of Rome to be a true Church [76], and the like may be said of some heretical and schismatical congregations. But yet for all this it would not be proper to allow the Church of Rome to be called a true and lawful Church, as set up in opposition to the legal established Church of England: no more can a schismatical Church be called a true and lawful Church in that sense, and that I conceive is all the Canon intended.

CHAP. VII.

That the French Church requires the observation of some Holy-days according to the prescription of the Thirteenth Canon of our Church.

The Thirteenth Canon is this, 'All persons within the Church of England shall keep the Lord's-day and other Holy-days according to God's will and the orders of the Church of England;

[76] Vide Crakanthorp. Cont. Spalatens. c. 16. p. 82. (Reprint, p. 77.) Ecclesiæ hereticæ, ipsaque Romana, ecclesiæ sunt et membra Universalis Ecclesiæ.—Conf. c. 21. p. 110. (Reprint, p. 103.) Ecclesia Romana, ut aliæ hereticæ, est ecclesia sed morbida.

To know how far Protestants allow the Church of Rome to be called *a Church*, the Reader may consult Calvin's Epistle to Zozinus: (Oper. t. 9. p. 51.) Deinde sic Papistis detrahimus ecclesiæ nomen, ut, &c.—See also the Second Letter to the same: (ibid. p. 57.) Quod ecclesiæ reliquias manere in Papatu dico, &c.—See also Beza's Epist. 10. (pp. 91, seqq.) and the 28th Article of the French Confession, which I have produced in another place, (b. 2, ch. 2, p. 48, of this volume,) in vindicating the doctrine of the 18th Article of our Church.

that is, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick, using all godly and sober conversation.'

This rule for observation of festivals cannot possibly be charged either with superstition or idolatry. For it orders no adoration to be paid to the saints, nor are the days dedicated to them, but set apart for divine service. Only the saints are historically honoured by commemorating their good actions, and rehearsing their just praises, and giving God thanks for those gifts and graces which he bestowed on them, and by them on his Church; that all men hereby may remember their faith, and life, and conversation, and be excited to imitate their examples. It is well known that these days are thus far observed in most Protestant Churches; and in the Palatinate there is one more, which for its rarity I will here mention, because I believe but few persons have taken notice of it; that is, the Day of Jubilee for the Reformation, mentioned by Philip Paræus [or Pareus] in his Epistle Dedicatory before Ursin's Catechism[77], where he has these words, anno 1617, *Celebratum Jubilæum Restituti Evangelii; This year was kept a Jubilee for the Restoration of the Gospel.*

But it is beside my purpose to inquire further into the practice of any other Protestant Churches, save only the French, concerning which I observe three things:

1. That they keep the festivals of our Saviour's Nativity,

[77] [I presume the book intended is that which was published separately at Heidelberg in 1619, 4to., which may possibly be the second edition. The whole *Opera Theologica* of Ursinus were first published there by Reuter in 1612, in 3 vols. fol. I have never been able to meet with a copy of Ursin's Catechism with the Epistle Dedicatory as mentioned in the text above, but it is not to be confounded with the book following, though the title is similar: 'Corpus Doctrinæ Orthodoxæ sive Catecheticarum Explicationum: opus absolutum P. D. Parei: adjuta sunt Miscellanea Catechetica, opera D. Parei. Heidelberg. 1616.' Ursinus was Professor of Theology at Heidelberg in 1561, and at Neustadt in 1578. He was the author of the famous Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism, which was almost universally adopted by the Calvinists. David Pareus was Professor at Heidelberg in 1591, and his son John Philip, who edited the *Catechismus Ursini* as above, was Rector of the College of Neustadt in 1612. He died in 1648. Ed.]

Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Descent of the Holy Ghost, as we do, with prayers, sermons, &c.

2. They are obliged by the Edict of Nantes to forbear working on Popish holy-days: and their Book of Discipline takes a due care to see that order of the edict put in execution. For there all ministers are obliged by an express canon [78], 'according to his Majesty's edict, to exhort the faithful to give none offence by working upon holy-days.'

3. They are so far from condemning the other festivals, as kept in memory of the saints in the Church of England, that they allow the same exercises mentioned in our canon to be performed even on Popish holy-days, and that by the order of two national synods.

The Synod of Gergeau, 1601 [79], heard an appeal of one Mr. Joubert from the order of the provincial Synod of Burgundy upon this point; and upon hearing, ratified the order of the said Synod, leaving the Churches at liberty to have public prayers and sermons on the Romish holy-days if they liked it.

The second Synod of Vitré, 1617, at the request of divers persons of quality renewed the same order [80]: 'Forasmuch as our mechanics are obliged by the King's edict to forbear working on the festivals of the Romish Church, over and besides the Lord's-day; it is left to the prudence of consistories to congregate the people on such holy-days, either to hear the word preached or to join in common public prayers, as they shall find to be most expedient.'

Besides, the French writers expressly vindicate the use of holy-days in our Church from the charge of superstition. It was objected to Mr. Daille by his Popish adversaries, Adam and Cottiby, that the French condemned the Papists for the observance of such things as they allowed in the Protestants of Germany and England; and they instance in the observation of the festivals of the saints. To this he replies [81],

[78] Ch. 14. art. 21. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 56.)

[79] Ch. 4. art. 20. (Q. v. 1. p. 215. A. art. 21. v. 1. p. 243.)

[80] Ch. 9. art. 3. (Q. ibid. p. 498. A. art. 2. ibid. p. 108.)

[81] Replique, &c. part. 2. chap. 10. (p. 71.) *Ils célébrent*, dîtes vous, *les festes des saints*. De quelques-uns, je l'avouë, comme celles des Saints Apôtres, et peut estre encore de quelque peu d'autres, pour perpétuer la mémoire de leur piété. Mais leur addressent-ils, comme vous, des vœux, des prières, et des invocations? Et exercent-ils les autres cultes religieux, que vous déférez aux saints? Au contraire, ils

'Some holy-days I confess they observe, such as those of the Holy Apostles, and it may be a few others, to perpetuate the memory of their piety. But do they direct their vows, prayers, or invocations to them as you do? Do they exercise any other acts of religious worship which you offer to the saints? No; they reject and impugn them as much as we, and accuse them as will-worship and human inventions; that is to say, superstitious devotions. But, say you, they have temples which bear the names of saints. And do not they of Geneva, whom you cannot deny to be our nearest brethren, call the places of their religious assemblies by the names of St. Peter and St. Gervais? But neither the one nor the other consecrate the relics of any saints in their churches, nor give any religious worship to them; which are properly the things we cannot bear in your churches.'

This is an ample testimony, and generous vindication of the practice of the English and German Churches from the charge of superstition, idolatry, and will-worship, in the observation of festivals. And it is well observed, that if calling a church by the name of a saint was any consecration of it to the honour of the saint, or any other ways superstitious, as some plead among us, Geneva itself is as liable to the charge as any other place for calling their churches or temples by the names of St. Peter and St. Gervais, &c.

Many other testimonies of the like nature might here be brought; but I will only add the judgment of Calvin, and give some account of the practice of Geneva relating to the observation of festivals.

The practice of the Church of Geneva has undergone some changes in this matter, as Calvin tells us in his Epistle to Hallerus, a divine of Zurich, which is written by way of apology for himself, to satisfy the Helvetians that he had no hand at all in abrogating the festivals, as some falsely accused him.

les rejettent, et les combattent avec nous, et les accusent de n'estre que des dévotions humaines et volontaires, c'est à dire superstitieuses. *Ils ont des temples*, dîtes vous, *qui portent leurs noms*. Et ceux de Genève, qui vous ne sauriez nier estre nos frères germains, ne nomment-ils pas aussi les lieux de leurs assemblés solonnelles *S. Pierre*, et *S. Gervais?* Mais ni les uns ni les autres ne consacrent, ni ne vénérent religieusement les reliques d'aucuns saints dans leurs eglises; qui est proprement ce que nous ne pouvons supporter dans les vôtres, &c.

'I can solemnly protest,' says he [82], 'that this was done *without my knowledge and desire,—me inscio ac ne optante quidem.* Before ever I came to this city, their custom was to observe no holy-days except the Lord's-day. But the same decree that expelled me and Farel brought in the observation of the same holy-days that are observed by you in the Helvetian Churches. Which decree, though it was tumultuously and violently obtained against us, yet upon my return I observed this moderation in reference to it, that the festival of Christ's Nativity should be observed after the same manner as it is with you; and for the rest, they should be kept with prayers extraordinary in the morning, the shops being shut till after dinner, when men should be allowed to resume their business again. But there were some headstrong men who, through preposterous malice, would still dissent from the common custom. Therefore, forasmuch as different usages in a well ordered church are not tolerable, and are apt to create suspicion among foreigners that people do not well agree among themselves, I exhorted the senate that they would find out some convenient way to cure this dissension for the future. Shortly after I was surprised with the news, as a perfect stranger, that they had passed a decree abrogating holy-days, &c. In this I had no hand at all: I neither advised nor

[82] Ep. ad Haller. (Oper. t. 9. p. 62.) Ego autem ut sancte testari possum, me inscio ac ne optante quidem, hanc rem fuisse transactam.... Priusquam urbem unquam ingrederer, nullæ prorsus erant feriæ præter diem Dominicum. Quæ apud vos celebrantur, eodem plebiscito acceptæ sunt, quo ego et Farellus fuimus expulsi: idque improborum violentia tumultuose extortum magis fuit, quam legitimo ordine decretum. Ex quo sum revocatus, hoc temperamentum quæsivi, ut Christi natalis celebraretur vestro more: aliis autem diebus extraordinariæ supplicationes, tabernis mane clausis, fierent: a prandio ad suas operas aut res agendas quisque rediret. Erant tamen interea præfracti quidam, qui præpostera quadam malitia a communi more dissiderent. Et varietas quum in ecclesia rite composita tolerabilis non foret, atque etiam apud exteros suspicionem gigneret, non bene civibus inter se convenire; senatum hortatus sum, ut commodo remedio in posterum hoc dissidium tolleretur. Verum simul illa, quam hactenus coluerant, moderatio disertis verbis ac nominatim a me laudata est. Aliquanto post, tamquam novus aliquis hospes, de abrogatione audivi.... Ego tametsi neque suasor neque impulsor fui; sic tamen accidisse, non moleste fero.... Hoc tamen testatum esse volo, si mihi delata optio fuisset, quod nunc constitutum est, non fuisse pro sententia dicturum. Nec tamen est, cur homines adeo exasperentur, si libertate nostra, ut ecclesiæ ædificatio postulat, utimur; quemadmodum nec vicissim præjudicio esse morem nostrum æquum est.

encouraged the passing of it, though I am not much displeased that it has so happened. Yet I would have all men know, that if it had been put to my choice, I would not have given my opinion for making such a decree. And yet I must say, there is no reason why men should be exasperated against us only for using our liberty as the edification of our Church may require: as, on the other hand, it is not fit that our custom should be a rule to other Churches.'

We have here Calvin's judgment upon this matter, as well as the practice of the Church of Geneva. Every Church has power to appoint or abrogate holy-days as she thinks most expedient for edification; and the rules and practice of one Church ought not to prejudice or prescribe to any other. But the custom of every Church is to be observed by its own members, and they are pervicacious and stubborn who refuse obedience to it. The first reformation at Geneva allowed of no holy-days but the Lord's-day: and whilst that decree lasted, Calvin and the rest of the ministers complied with it [83]. Afterwards, the use of holy-days was brought in, anno 1537, in compliance with the custom of the Helvetian Churches; and then Calvin freely consented to observe them: as appears not only from the forecited Epistle, but many other places. For this decree continued in force till the year 1551, during all which time they had sermons on Christ's Nativity, and solemn prayers on the other holy-days. Calvin, in an Epistle to Farel written anno 1551, speaks of his own preaching on Christmas-day [84]. And in another Epistle he says [85], 'though he could, upon his return from banishment, in a moment have disannulled that decree which introduced the observation of the festivals, (so great was his power among the major part of the people,) yet he willingly acquiesced in it;

[83] Ep. ad Ministrum Burensem. (ibid. p. 63.) Antequam urbem hanc primo adventu ingressus essem, abrogati erant dies festi omnes præter Dominicum. Farello et Vireto hoc utile visum fuerat. Ego receptæ consuetudini libenter acquievi.

[84] Ep. ad Farel. (ibid. p. 59.) Quum, &c.

[85] Ad Ministrum Burensem. (ibid. p. 63.) Quum die natali concione habita, inspectioni privatæ per unam decuriam operam dedissem, fessus domum redeo. ..... Ex quo fuimus expulsi, quatuor festi dies cum aliis quibusdam ritibus instituti sunt. Reversus, quum momento possem, quidquid me absente actum erat, magnæ partis applausu convellere, placide quievi: nisi quod dissimulare non poteram, præpostere celebrari Christi circumcisionem, præterito mortis die.

save only that he could not but say, he thought it preposterously ordered, to omit the day of our Saviour's passion, whilst they kept his circumcision.'

So that Calvin was so far from being against the observation of these holy-days, when settled by law, that he thought it reasonable one more at least should have been added to them. He says in the same place[86], 'he took some pains to satisfy and calm those of the adverse party, who still clamoured and cried out for the abolishing of them, insomuch that they accused him for being lukewarm in the matter. The dispute ran so high betwixt the contending parties, that it came once to the drawing of swords; which immoderate heat on both sides he endeavoured to compose, by getting a decree made that holy-days should only be kept in the morning with shops shut, and men be allowed to return to their ordinary work in the afternoon. And thus it continued for nine years; but that did not end the quarrel: for some would have their shops shut, and some open, which showed that the old controversy was still on foot among them.' This made Calvin once more address the senate, to take this evil of dissension into consideration, and find out an expedient for it. 'But,' says he[87], 'I spake not a word about abrogating the holy-days, but rather commended the senate for their moderation, in that, for peace sake, they had complied with the custom of the Helvetian Churches. And when I heard that these days were abrogated by an ordinance of the people, it was so unexpected a thing to me, that I was almost astonished at the news of it.'

[86] Ad Eund. (ibid. p. 63.) Sic tamen mihi temperavi, ut compescerem ex adverso, qui dies illos prorsus tollendos clamitabant. Nam qui inter principia nomen Evangelio dederant, adeo ægre tulerant novationem postea inductam, ut mihi interdum non pepercerint, quod nimis tepidus videbar. Quin etiam ad gladios semel ventum est. Quum utrinque immodicus contentionum fervor prævaleret, media ratio nobis placuerat, ut mane clausis tabernis feriæ agerentur, a prandio se conferrent ad operas ordinarias. Id ante annos novem statutum fuit: neque tamen hoc modo sedata fuerunt certamina. Varietas enim in clausis tabernis vel apertis dissidium prodebat. Quum nec finis nec remedium inveniretur, anno proxime elapso veni in curiam: rogavi senatum, ut modum aliquem pro sua prudentia excogitaret, quo populus in meliore consensu retineretur.

[87] Ad Eund. (ibid. p. 63.) De abrogatione nominatim locutus non sum. Quin potius laudavi, quod hactenus, fovendæ pacis studio, se ad Bernatium morem accommodassent. Quum plebiscito audivi abrogatos esse dies illos, adeo res erat inexspectata, ut propemodum obstupuerim.

..., as may be seen in h
of Mompelgard [88], [or Montbelgard,] a
pius [89], and a third to Anonymus [90].
Ratione Reformandæ Ecclesiæ, writte
where he allows of such festivals 'as
mind of the virtues of the saints, and
tation.' Which is all that is required b
the Church of England.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty and Twenty-sixth Canons. Particul Name of Jesus, required in the Eigh is not condemned by the French Chur

THE words of the Eighteenth Canon a
divine service the Lord Jesus shall be
lowly reverence shall be done by all pers
been accustomed,' &c. Where note, first
scribed as necessary by divine comman
custom of the Church. Secondly, the re
paid to the name or word in itself, but
Lord Jesus at the mention of his name.
cannot think this lawful, yet he may hold
Church, and join with those that do, a
And thus far I am sure the F...

Martyr says a thing that will fully justify it, for he tells us [1], 'It is a pious custom among some to bow the knee and worship whenever they hear those words of St. John, "The Word was made flesh:" and we cannot nor ought we to say, they worship the bare words but the person signified thereby.'

If it be lawful and a pious custom to bow the knee and do reverence to Christ at the hearing of the name *Logos*, or *Word*, which is one of the names of Christ; is it not altogether as lawful and pious to do the same thing at the hearing of another of his names, provided the reverence be not done to the name itself, but to the Person whose name it is? Peter Martyr, no doubt, would have said as much of the one as the other, had his argument led him to it: but he brings his instance only to justify kneeling at the eucharist, of which I have spoken more fully before [2] in its proper place.

But some ask us, Why the Church enjoins bowing at the name of Jesus, and not as well at the name of Christ, or God, or the Holy Ghost, &c.? To which I answer, if there were no other reason to be given for this, but only the custom of the Church of God, that were sufficient in this case. But if we look to the first rise and original of the custom, a much more rational account may be given of the reason of this difference, which was this. The name *Jesus* was become a name of reproach among the Jews, they always blasphemed and reviled him by this name, terming him, by way of reproach, *Jesus the Magician*, and *Jesus the Impostor*. Which terms of infamy and disgrace they endeavoured to fasten on him, and propagate, not only in Judea, but over all the world: for Justin Martyr tells us in his Dialogue with Trypho [3], 'that immediately after our Saviour's death they sent forth their apostles, or emissaries from Jerusalem, to all the synagogues in the world, to tell them there was a certain impious, lawless sect, risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor. So that the name *Jesus* was

[1] Loc. Comm. class. 4. c. 10. n. 50. (p. 610 a. 2.) Multi enim pie genu flectunt et adorant, illis verbis Evangelii auditis, *Et Verbum caro factum est;* nec tamen ipsa verba dicenda sunt adorari, verum significata.

[2] B. 3. ch. 13. p. 147.

[3] P. 335. (Ed. Paris. 1742. p. 202 b. 7.) *Οὐ μόνον οὐ μετανοήσατε μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε, κηρύσσοντας ὅτι αἵρεσίς τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου πλάνου.*

become a name of infamy among the Jews; whereas the names of *Messias* or *Christ*, and *God*, and *Holy Ghost*, were always names of respect and honour among them. For this reason the Church of Christ, to do a peculiar honour to their Lord, took up this decent custom of expressing their respect to him, at the mention of that very name by which the Jews blasphemed and reviled him; to show that that Jesus, whom they hated and reproached, was honoured by them as their Lord and Christ.'

Now if that was the original of this custom, as Zanchy [4] and some other learned persons own it to be; and the testimony I have cited out of Justin Martyr makes it very probable; then it must be confessed to have been very pious in its first rise: and, unless some mighty superstition has crept into it by tract of time, it cannot now be condemned as sinful. What corruption may happen in the practice of private persons I know not. If any worship the name itself, or bow the knee without devotion to Christ in their hearts, they must answer for their own faults; the Church gives no encouragement to any such superstition or heartless devotion: what she requires is, 'that men should testify by this outward gesture their inward devotion and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised,' as the Canon words it. Which thing the Jews continue still to deny, and not only deny, but curse and blaspheme Jesus of Nazareth to this very day in their ritual books and talmudical writings, as Sixtus Senensis [5], and

[4] Comment. in Phil. 2, 10. (Ed. 1617. t. 6. p. 128.) Hæc est catastrophe hujus nominis *Jesu*, quod, cum antea ab omnibus fere Judæis blasphemaretur, post mortem, patefacta ejus Deitate, ab omnibus adoratur, ita ut ad solam mentionem nominis *Jesu* omnes ei genua flectant. Atque hinc non dubito, quin profecta sit illa antiquissima consuetudo in ecclesiis, ut cum nominatur Jesus, omnes aperiant caput, in testimonium reverentiæ et adorationis.

[5] Biblioth. l. 2. p. 129. (t. 1. p. 240.) [Among the *Errores Talmudici, videlicet adversus charitatem et humanitatem.*] Statuimus ut quilibet Judæus ter in die blasphemet omnem Christianorum gentem ac Deum precetur, ut confundat, exterminetque ipsam cum regibus et principibus suis; atque hoc maxime faciant sacerdotes Judæorum in synagoga ter quotidie orantes in odium Jesu Nazareni.

Grotius[6], and other learned persons[7], who are acquainted with them, inform us.

Where then is the harm to express our reverence to Christ at the mention of that name which the Jews still continue to hate and blaspheme? Zanchy says[8], 'it was at first *consuetudo non improbanda, a laudable custom and not to be disliked*, as used against the Jews, Arians, and other heretics; but afterwards it degenerated into superstition, as many other things did which were religiously and piously ordained.' But if it may be freed from all superstition, then the use of it may be laudable still. And so Scultetus[9] prudently determines the matter, saying, 'If it be done with devotion of mind, it is commendable; but if otherwise, blameworthy.'

There are some other prescriptions in this same Canon against which some take exceptions, such as the injunction to be uncovered all the time of divine service, and kneeling at the Confession and Litany and other prayers, and standing up at the Belief, Gospel, &c. But of these I have spoken in the former Book[10], and therefore need not here repeat them.

For the same reason I omit the exceptions which are made against the Twenty-first Canon, which obligeth every parishioner to receive the communion three times a year, and the minister to deliver both the bread and wine to every communicant severally. For of these I have spoken before[11] in treating of the Communion.

The Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Canons speak of habits, surplices, hoods, copes, &c. But I have already dispatched Mr. Baxter's arguments about them[12], in treating of that rubric in the Common Prayer, which says 'all ornaments shall be in use which were appointed in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.'

[6] In Luc. 6, 22. (t. 2. v. 1. p. 380. col. sinistr. summ.) Ubi Epiphanius citatur.

[7] Otho, Lexicon Rabbinicum, (p. 79.) In loco citato Sanhed, &c.

[8] Ubi supra. See n. 4, preceding.

[9] Idea Concion. in Esai. 45, 23. (p. 645. sub med.) Si cum animi devotione id fiat, laudandum; sin autem, vituperandum. [Conf. David Paræi Irenic. c. 24. art. 15. (p. 147.) De geniculatione et capitis apertione vel inclinatione ad nomen *Jesus* prolatum, si Lutherani et Papistæ ut de reverentia adiaphora consentiunt, nihil ab iis nos dissentimus, nam et nos eam cæremoniam, nisi ubi superstitionis species aut confirmatio vitanda est, libere observamus. Ed.]

[10] B. 3. chapters 9 and 11.

[11] B. 3. ch. 14. pp. 153–156.

[12] B. 3. ch. 7. pp. 122–129.

to live in sin notorious, without repenta
maliciously and openly contended with
they shall be reconciled. Nor any ch
break their oaths in refusing to presen
public offences as they know themselv
their parishes.' This is agreeable to t
munion-office, which authorizes the mini
and open evil livers from the Lord's tab
understood with that restriction which s
it meant only persons formally and judic
or notorious in law, but all such person
certainly knows to be guilty of any publ
in which they persist without repentance;
well expound it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Twenty-ninth Canon, which forbi
admitted to communion; the Twenty-
denies communion to strangers; the
forbids fathers to be godfathers for the
Thirtieth, which explains the use of th
the Thirty-sixth, which requires subsc
and the Thirty-eighth, which censures
scription.

been spoken to in the sixth chapter of the first Book [14], where I treat of occasional communion. The twenty-ninth, which forbids fathers to be sole sponsors for their own children, is justified also before in the twentieth chapter of the third Book [15], where I discourse of the use of sponsors in the French Church. The Thirtieth, which explains the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, is treated of in the seventeenth chapter of the same Book [16]. The Thirty-sixth, which requires subscription of ministers, is handled at large in the third chapter of the first Book [17], where I treat of subscription in general; and in the first chapter of the second Book [18], which treats of subscription to the Articles; and in the first, second, and third chapters of the third Book [19], which handle the business of assent and consent, and the use of the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. And what concerns subscription to the Book of Ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, has been considered already in the fifth chapter of this Book [20], in speaking of the Eighth Canon. The only Canon therefore which I shall say any thing further of in this chapter is the Thirty-eighth, which censures revolters after subscription in this manner: 'If any minister, after he hath once subscribed to the said three Articles, shall omit to use the Form of Prayer, or any of the orders or ceremonies prescribed in the Communion-book, let him be suspended: and if after a month he do not reform and submit himself, let him be excommunicated: and then if he shall not submit himself within the space of another month, let him be deposed from the ministry.'

Mr. Baxter says [21], 'this is excommunicating men for repenting of sin, and such an abuse of excommunication as that our Saviour speaks of, "They shall cast out your names as evil doers."'

Let us try whether the French Church does not abuse excommunication after the same manner, to use his phrase about it. There is a canon in their Book of Discipline which I have often had occasion to recite, and must here make use of it once

[14] Pp. 32–37.
[15] Pp. 174–183.
[16] Pp. 163–167.
[17] Pp. 13–19.
[18] Pp. 38 and 39.
[19] Pp. 96–114.
[20] Pp. 225–234.
[21] English Nonconformity, ch. 31, point 28. (p. 118.)

more, which says[22], 'A pastor or elder breaking the Church's union, stirring up contention about any point of doctrine, or of the discipline which he had subscribed, or about the form of catechizing, or administration of the sacraments, or of our common prayers and celebration of marriage, and not conforming to the determination of the classis, he shall be then suspended from his office, and be further prosecuted by the provincial or national synod.'

Now this I take to be exactly the same with our Canon. Revolters after subscription are to be suspended by the classis; and if upon that they do not reform and submit themselves, they are to be further prosecuted by the provincial or national synod. And what can that further prosecution be, but deposition or excommunication? And if the synod excommunicate them, every minister in France is bound by his oath of canonical obedience to publish the excommunication if he be required. So that if our Canon deserves those hard names which Mr. Baxter gives it, when he says, 'it obliges us to excommunicate men only for repenting of sin,' meaning their subscription, I cannot see how the French discipline will be cleared or their rules escape the same imputation.

But besides this canon they have many rules of the like nature. In the same Book of Discipline, among other crimes for which a minister may be deposed, *rejecting of the counsels of the consistory* is one, and *schism* another, and *rebellion against the discipline of the Church* a third[23]. It seems, if after admonition and suspension they do not conform to the order of the Church, then they are to be deposed.

The Synod of Alez, 1620, speaking of rebels against the discipline of the Church, says[24], 'Classes, consistories, and synods shall inflict upon them the heaviest censure of excommunication.'

The Synod of Montauban, 1594, says[25], 'Ministers shall make

[22] Ch. 5. art. 32. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 36.)

[23] Ch. 1. art. 47. (Quick, ibid. p. 25.)

[24] Ch. 10. art. 22. (Q. v. 1. p. 37. A. art. 23. v. 2. p. 182.)

[25] Ch. 4. art. 19. (Q. v. 1. p. 163.) See also in Aymon, art. 20. (v. 1. p. 181.) On ne changera rien au formulaire des prières publiques, ni à celui de l'administration des sacremens: le tout aiant été bien et saintement dressé, en termes clairs, et pris la plupart de la Parole de Dieu.

no alteration in the forms of public prayers, and administration of the sacraments, the whole having been prudently and piously ordained, and for the most part in plain and express terms of Holy Scripture.'

Now compare these canons together, and see what they amount to. Ministers must make no alteration in the forms of public prayers, &c. If they do, they are liable to be suspended: if after that they persist obstinate, they are to be deemed rebels against the discipline of the Church, and to be proceeded against as such by deposition or excommunication.

They have other canons which suspend men for transgressing their rules about preaching, one or two of which it will not be amiss here to mention. The Book of Discipline gives these directions to preachers[26]: 'They shall never preach without having for foundation of their discourse a text of Holy Scripture. ...They shall forbear all needless enlargements, all superfluous heaping up of Scripture quotations, and vain recitals of various and different expositions. They shall very rarely allege the writings of the Fathers, nor at any time profane histories and authors; that so they may reserve unto the Scripture entirely its own authority. Moreover, they shall not handle any doctrine in a scholastic way of disputation, nor with a mixture of languages.... And that this canon may be more carefully observed, consistories, classes, and synods shall put to their helping hand.' And what they mean by *their helping hand* is explained in the Synod of Gap, 1603, which orders them to suspend all that observe not the foresaid rules[27]: 'All provincial synods, classes, and consistories are enjoined, as they would avoid the greatest censures, to have a strict eye over such who act contrary to the eleventh article of the first chapter of our Discipline, and to suspend them from the ministry. And they also shall be liable to the same censure, who, leaving the true and genuine sense of Scripture expounded by itself, do rather pitch upon the glosses of Fathers and Schoolmen, and launch out into allegories; larding their sermons with philosophical discourses, quoting the Fathers, and bringing their books with them into the pulpit; and they also who, in time of Lent,

[26] Ch. 1. art. 12. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 19.)

[27] Ch. 3. art. 4. (Q. v. 1. p. 228. A. v. 1. p. 260.)

cation.

I know not what Mr. Baxter would l
these canons, or how far he would ha
either in his own preaching or censurin
am sure, after all his tragical outcries a
Church of England, there is nothing
justified by these rules of discipline in t
France.

CHAP. X.

Of the Forty-ninth Canon, which forbi not licensed preachers, to expound the the same thing in effect is done in the

The words of this Canon are, 'No p
examined and approved by the bishop c
licensed for a sufficient or convenient pres
him to expound, in his own cure or else
or matter of doctrine; but shall only stud
aptly, without glossing or adding, the
forth, or hereafter to be published by law
confirmation of the true faith, and for the
edification of the people.'

Mr. Baxter is very angry with this
usual manner says [29], 'It binds us to sac

Thirdly, we are forbidden that which is the duty of every lay-Christian that is able, as if they would suppress religion and charity itself.'

This is all the charity Mr. Baxter had for the religion of the English Churchmen! I will first show what was the practice of the French Church in this matter, and then examine his reasons against the English Canon.

As to the case of the French Church, I observe that they lay under the same unfortunate necessity for many years after the Reformation that the English Church did; that is, that in many parts of the kingdom they could not have their churches supplied by fit and able preachers, who could compose sermons of their own for the use of the people; but for want of such, they were forced to appoint Calvin's Homilies upon Job to be read publicly in the churches. And Beza says[30], 'this was done with very great benefit to such churches as could not be better supplied.'

Ludovicus Capellus considers this matter particularly, and his resolution is this[31]: 'That postils, homilies, and such other set forms of preaching, are to be allowed as little in the use of the Church as may be; not because they are absolutely and simply unlawful, or wholly to be prohibited, but because they would be an occasion of sloth and idleness, and breed ignorance in pastors. Yet forasmuch as in all places, especially in country villages and hamlets, in so great a number and multitude of country-churches, it would be no easy matter to procure so many learned and able ministers that could of themselves continually make new sermons for the edification of the people as their occasions and necessities should require, it is much

[30] Præf. in Concion. Calvin. in Job. See before, b. 2. ch. 11. p. 84. n. 4.

[31] Dissert. 47. De Liturg. Form. Concept. part. 3. n. 9, 10. int. Thes. Salmur. (p. 658.) Postillæ, et homiliæ, aliæque ejusmodi sacrarum concionum certæ et præscriptis verbis conceptæ formulæ, quantum fieri potest, ab ecclesiæ usu arceri debent, non quod sit earum usus prorsus et simpliciter illicitus penitusque prohibitus, sed quod pastoribus sit pulvinar ignaviæ et socordiæ, et fomes ignorantiæ. Quia tamen ubique, ruri maxime et in pagis atque villis, in tanta ecclesiarum rusticanarum frequentia et multitudine, non facile haberi possunt tot pastores docti, eruditi, et idonei, qui ipsi per se conciones ad populi ædificationem perpetuo novas, pro re nata et diversis occasionibus, cudere et condere possint; satius est multo, vel postillas dominicales, vel integras etiam homilias, publica ecclesiæ auctoritate a viris piis et doctis confectas, populo ab iis legi et recitari, quam nihil omnino dici.

a great volume of homilies was comp
the people on every Lord's-day and
as could not make sermons of their
us, that the same thing was ancier
Charles the Great, at whose comma
said to have composed a set of homi
order to the people on all Sundays
round. And who knows not, that in al
and Northern parts of the world out
Africa, there are scarce any pastors
there at this day that can preach to
their own composing? And is it not be
sermons of other men's composing than

We see the case of the French and E
same: it was not choice but necessity
take the best measures that they co
writers are so far from condemning th
Mr. Baxter, that they make use of he
their own Church's practice, in appointi
to the people in such places, where the
cient ability and skill to preach serm
posing. And I have shown elsewhe
Churches did the same in appointing

[32] Ibid. (p. 650.) Atque id [illegible]

be read instead of sermons from the beginning of the Reformation.

Let us now hear Mr. Baxter's arguments against our Church's Canon, and consider what they amount to.

1. He says[34], 'Men are at once made Christ's ministers, and forbidden to exercise that which they are ordained to.' But are any ordained to preach sermons of their own composing, whether they be able to compose them or no? Suppose ordination be a vow and dedication to the sacred office, as both he and we say it is: does the office consist altogether in preaching sermons of the minister's own making? What then becomes of all the Churches of the East, South, and North, in Asia and Africa, where Capellus tells us the ministers are not able to preach sermons of their own, but only homilies, to the people? Are such ministers guilty of breach of vow? Or is there no performance of the sacred office among them? Were all those French and Dutch Churches also without the sacred office of preaching, who had no other sermons but Calvin's Homilies or Bullinger's Decads read to them? Why is not this preaching the Word of God to the people, as well when these sermons are read out of a printed book, as when they were first spoken by Bullinger or Calvin, provided it be done by a public minister regularly appointed to perform divine service? The contrary notion which Mr. Baxter advances is so absurd in itself, and so great a reproach to half the Christian world, (Churches that Mr. Baxter upon other occasions expresses a great value for, and often appeals to them,) that in compliment to them he might have dropped this argument, though he had no respect for the Church of England.

2. But again he says[35], 'This canon lays us under the heinous guilt of breaking our vow, when the Church has engaged us to make it; and of betraying men's souls, by omitting a vowed duty.' This will be best understood by considering the minister's promise at his ordination, which is the covenant and vow he talks so much of. For if there be nothing in our ordination promise but what is consistent with this Canon, and agreeable to the practice of all other Churches, then his whole argument falls to the ground.

[34] As before. (p. 39.)

[35] Ibid.

that you may teach the people comm
charge with all diligence to keep a
Ans. I will so do by the help of the Lo
ready with all faithful diligence to ban
erroneous and strange doctrines contra
to use both public and private monition
well to the sick as to the whole within y
require and occasion shall be given?
being my helper.'

Mr. Baxter breaks out into a very ind
passion upon this; saying [36], 'Is it not t
into all these vows, and then to command
or expound any doctrine, &c. Doth it
atheistical prohibition of religion?' I wi
with railing, but ask a few more perti
questions.

First, Whether this vow obliges men t
precisely after one and the same way?

Secondly, Whether reading the Script
not preaching God's Word to the people?
not able to do more, do this carefully a
not discharge his ordination vow to the b
any man say, No; then let him answer f
French Church.

Thirdly, Whether all preachers notwi-

position, and excommunication. They must also keep to their own parish-churches, and not rove about and preach where they please. 'Ministers shall not be vagrants,' says their Book of Discipline[37], 'nor have liberty to intrude themselves of their own authority into any place which best pleaseth them;' and if they do, they are liable to be deposed. Now this, I think, is to tie men up to some rules and orders in preaching, which unless they observe they may not preach at all, notwithstanding their covenant and vow at ordination.

Fourthly, I ask whether all preachers be not obliged to conform to those rules and orders of any Church which they themselves have subscribed and promised to observe in preaching, praying, administering the sacraments, &c.

Fifthly, If they do not conform to them, whether they may not lawfully be suspended or deposed, as well for their nonconformity to such rules, as for preaching heretical doctrine?

Sixthly, Whether if they be silenced or deposed by legal authority for such nonconformity, they ought not to submit, and leave off preaching, (till licensed by the same authority again,) notwithstanding their vow at ordination? If any man says *No* to all these questions, as Mr. Baxter must do by his principles, and thinks there is a necessity laid upon him to preach the Gospel against all rules and orders of the Church that would put any restraint upon him; then I desire him to answer and account for the discipline and practice of the French Church, which obliges all her ministers to subscribe to her rule about preaching, praying, administering the sacraments, and all other points of her discipline; and if they do not conform to those rules, she suspends and deposes them; and then if they rebel against her discipline, and preach when silenced, she makes them liable to the heaviest censure of excommunication, as I have proved before beyond all possibility of contradiction.

The result of all is this: either men may be under some limitation as to preaching, notwithstanding their ordination vow; or else the French Church sins grievously in laying so many limitations upon her ministers, as to the exercise of their gifts and talents, after she has ordained them. To use

[37] Ch. 1. art. 24. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 21.)

suppress religion and charity itself. Baxter's charity was when he uttered duty of every lay-Christian to compo them publicly to the people! The ca instructions to any persons, whether li licensed; but only confines such as are qualified to compose sermons of their Scriptures and homilies set forth by a tion of the people. And the same th quired it, was done in the Church of Fr

4. 'But what a priest is that, who mu the people in the church!' If he means of Scripture, or homilies, or other publ the Church, then it is false that any teach the people in the church: but if l is teaching the people besides preacl minister's own composing, I have alrea absurd, and contrary to the sense of which, in cases of necessity, allows such homilies, and yet does not think she forb people.

5. 'But if reading the Scripture and men for the priesthood, then one may b no more than an infidel, or atheist; and men for a benefice, many will study f

ledge than will qualify them to be made priests, and they may perhaps be made priests too, and no Church know it, or be able to help it. There will be Julians and Judases in all communions, after all the care that is taken to prevent them.

'But if reading will qualify men for a benefice, many will study for no more, and the people will value them accordingly [40].' What is this to the purpose? Our Church never allows of bare readers but only in cases of necessity, as all other Churches must when they can have no better. This, God be thanked! is not our present case, and therefore there is no such danger of an idle and ignorant clergy now: for whilst the Church is supplied with a sufficient number of able preachers, men must study for a little more than reading, or else the benefices will hardly fall to their share. And so Mr. Baxter's fear of the contempt of the clergy upon that account is answered.

6. But the grand objection is yet behind, for the sake of which all the rest were made. He says [41], 'This canon makes the ministry arbitrary to the bishop's will. He may bind us to the office, and when he hath done keep us from it. As many are kept from it by the new Act of Uniformity, who are denied licenses without new professions, &c. And heretofore such excellent men as the world is not worthy of, Ames, Bayn, Parker, Hildersham, Dod, &c., have been forbidden to preach.'

Now the sum of this charge amounts only to this, that the bishops are arbitrary men, because they act according to law and canon. I had thought arbitrary power had signified a quite different thing, and that it was impossible for men to be arbitrary so long as they were tied to act by rules, as I am sure our bishops are, in granting licenses and such other things. If men be qualified for licenses by the law, the bishop cannot deny them; but if they be not, it is not the bishop's arbitrary will, but the law that denies them. And this is the case of nonconformists: it is not the will of the bishops, but the law that denies them licenses. And the same law denies them licenses in France; as appears from the case of Morelly and Mr. Welsh [42], and what I have discoursed in the foregoing

[40] Ibid. (p. 41.)
[41] Ibid. (p. 41.)
[42] See b. 1. ch. 5. p. 28. See also b. 4. ch. 3. pp. 213 and 214.

might lawfully act against it. Yea, excellent men Mr. Baxter speaks of w they had this one excellent quality, v think fit to mention, yet to their prais they were silenced for their nonconfor themselves obliged by their ordinat separate meetings, or preach against and will of their superiors. Three mentions, I am sure were of this opinio the separation, and wished it had neve *O utinam, nata nunquam fuisset!* ar

Hildersham was four times silence Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and does not appear by his printed lectures him to preach in the intervals[45].

Mr. Dod refused to preach when d subscription in the third year of King tain minister, urging him with Mr. Baxt ordination-vow, 'that he was a minist Jesus Christ;' he replied, 'that it was t Jesus Christ, but *by man*, and not *from* only were; and therefore if by the law hibited preaching, he ought to obey;' a

till his patron, Mr. Knightly, procured him a license from Archbishop Abbot [46].'

This was not according to Mr. Baxter's principle, who reckons preaching without a license so necessary a duty, by reason of the ordination-vow; that not to preach when silenced by authority is no less a sin with him than breach of covenant, and omitting a vowed duty. These old nonconformists were of another opinion; and if the principles and practice of the present nonconformists be more agreeable to Mr. Baxter's notion, yet they may consider that they differ as much from the principles of these excellent men, as they do from the rules of the French Church and the Church of England.

Now I hope I have satisfied all Mr. Baxter's objections against this Canon, which restrains ordained ministers from preaching without a license, in some certain cases when the law requires it; having made it appear that there is nothing singular in our Church's practice, nor any objection against it, but what is equally levelled at the rules and discipline of the reformed Church of France.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Fifty-fifth Canon, which speaks of prayer before sermon: and the Fifty-seventh, which forbids persons to go for baptism and the communion from their own parish-church, because their own minister is not a preacher.

The Fifty-fifth Canon I had not here mentioned, but only to justify the common practice of our ministers in using a form of prayer before sermon different from any enjoined in the Common Prayer Book. Mr. Baxter charges all ministers with breach of covenant [47], 'because having subscribed that they will use in public prayer the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and no other, they yet do in the pulpits before sermons use other forms.' As if the subscription of the Thirty-sixth Canon could not in common sense be understood any otherwise but so as to clash and interfere with the Fifty-fifth!

[46] See Sir H. Yelverton's Preface to Bishop Morton of Episcopacy. (pp. 47, 48.) When for refusal of subscription, &c.

[47] English Nonconformity, ch. 8. points 4 and 5. (p. 43.)

When yet it is plain enough to any candid and ingenuous reader, that they speak of different things which may very well consist with one another. The Thirty-sixth Canon speaks of such offices, for which there are forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and the meaning of *subscription* is, that for such offices as the Common Prayer Book specifies, (and there are forms there prescribed,) the minister will use those forms and no other: but it does not mean, as Mr. Baxter disingenuously strains it, that in other offices for which there is no form there the minister shall use no form at all, though otherwise permitted or enjoined as this office of praying before sermon is by the Fifty-fifth Canon. The Canons are to be understood according to the subject matter they treat of, and limited to that, and then there is no contradiction between them. Otherwise the French Church, and all other Churches which have stinted Liturgies, would be guilty of breach of covenant as well as the Church of England. But of this I have spoken enough before [48].

Here I only observe further, that the Fifty-fifth Canon does not confine ministers precisely to a form, but leaves them at liberty either to use that form or one to the same effect. And therefore if there be some little difference in the minister's practice, if some use these very words here set down in the Canon, and others vary a little from them; neither the one nor the other are to be censured for a modest use of that liberty which the Canon allows them. Which I say lest any should condemn the one as formalists and the other as nonconformists.

The next Canon against which Mr. Baxter has any thing to say is the Fifty-seventh, which says, 'The sacraments are not to be refused at the hands of unpreaching ministers.' But the reason of making this Canon does sufficiently vindicate it from all his exceptions, which are only a repetition of some things already answered in the former chapter. The reason of the Canon is assigned in the Canon itself: 'Whereas divers persons seduced by false teachers do refuse to have their children baptized by a minister that is no preacher, and to receive the holy communion at his hands in the same respect as though the virtue of those sacraments did depend upon his ability to

[48] B. 3. ch. 1. pp. 96—107.

preach: forasmuch as the doctrine both of baptism and the Lord's Supper is so sufficiently set down in the Book of Common Prayer to be used at the administration of the said sacraments, as nothing can be added unto it that is material or necessary: we do require and charge every such person seduced as aforesaid to reform that their wilfulness, and to submit to the order of the Church in that behalf; both the said sacraments being equally effectual, whether they be ministered by a minister that is no preacher, or one that is a preacher.' Upon this ground the Canon ordereth obstinate offenders in this kind to be presented, suspended, and excommunicated, if they do not amend; and requires ministers not to receive any such to the communion which are not of his own parish, nor baptize their children, thereby strengthening them in their said errors, under pain of suspension.

This plainly shows that this Canon was only designed to prevent a growing error, which Mr. Baxter cannot deny to be an error: but he thinks, notwithstanding[49], 'all men ought to be allowed the liberty to choose better pastors than ignorant readers, as their need and God's law oblige them; and then it is their duty to communicate with him whom they take for their pastor.'

Let us try whether this be agreeable to the French Discipline; and in order to it, canvass a little their doctrine and sentiments upon these three points:

1. Whether it be lawful for the people to leave their own ministers, whom their superiors set over them, and take others for their pastors whom they shall think fit to choose for their greater edification?

2. Whether he who refuses the sacraments from the hands of an unpreaching minister, because he is such, be justly liable to censure?

3. Whether that minister, who encourages men in either of those practices, be not worthy of suspension?

1. For the first point, it is plainly determined by their Discipline, which, as it allows the people no hand in choosing their pastors, as I have evidently proved before[50], so neither does it permit them to leave their own parish-church and minister, and assemble themselves constantly with any other. 'The

[49] As before, ch. 32. point 29. (p. 119.) [50] B. 4. ch. 5. pp. 228—231.

faithful,' says their Book of Discipline[51], 'that make a trade of hearing the Word of God in one church, and of receiving the sacraments in another, shall be censured, and by the advice of the classis, or provincial synod, they shall be appointed to join themselves unto that church which is nearest and most convenient for them.' This, I presume, means their own parish-church.

Another canon says[52], 'Ministers shall not receive the members of any other churches to the Lord's supper without a sufficient attestation produced by them, under the hands of their pastors or elders, if it may be had.'

A third canon says[53], 'Synods and classes shall consult how to fix the limits and extent of that church wherein a minister shall exercise his ordinary calling.'

It seems they had parish-bounds as well as we: and it belonged to classes and synods to fix them, and choose ministers for them; and they had power to confine both ministers and people to their own parish-church, and would not suffer any man to forsake his own pastor, and choose a better for himself, and communicate ordinarily with such a pastor in prejudice of that pastor whom they had appointed. All this is as evident from these canons as the sun at noonday.

2. Hence it follows also, that, where reading ministers were allowed, men might not leave them, and go to other parishes for baptism or the Lord's supper, on pretence that such ministers were not qualified to administer the sacraments; because they read Calvin's Homilies instead of preaching sermons of their own composing. For the canons make no exceptions of parishes which had only such readers, and consequently confined the people to receive the sacraments from them as well as others.

Besides, their writers tell us that a sermon of the minister's own composing is not necessary to be preached at the administration of the sacraments: it was sufficient to read that homily, or discourse about baptism or the Lord's supper, which is set down in their Liturgy in a certain form of words, which the

[51] Ch. 12. art. 13. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 48.)

[52] Synod of Paris, 1565, ch. 11. art. 26. (Q. v. 1. p. 66. A. art. 3. v. 1. p. 69.)

[53] Synod of Rochelle, 1581, ch. 3. art. 38. (Q. ibid. p. 139. A. art. 37. ibid. p. 152.)—See also Book of Discipline, ch. 5. art. 3. (Quick, Introduct. p. 30.)

minister was bound to use, containing an explication of the nature of each sacrament, and the words of institution, &c., which therefore they called *verbum concionatorium et prædicatum, the word preached,* and made it essential to the sacraments and a necessary part of their consecration. For prayer, together with this repetition of the words of institution, declaring the nature and use of the sacraments, makes up their form of consecration, as it does ours. But the minister's sermon before the sacraments might be made or let alone, without any detriment to the sacraments themselves, or omission of any thing material and necessary to their administration. As Chamier answers Bellarmin, who pretended to say that Protestants made a minister's sermon necessary to the right of administration of the sacraments: he tells him[54] 'this is false, for they distinguish between the minister's sermon and the *verbum concionatorium et consecratorium,* (that is, *the form of consecration* in their Liturgies.) The one was used, *non propter essentiam sacramenti, sed propter ordinem ecclesiæ, not because it was of the essence of the sacrament, but because it was an order of the church, &c.*' 'But the other did properly belong to the sacraments, and was so essential to them, that they were not or could not be sacraments without it. *Mitte ergo*[55] *concionem, a qua prorsus distinctæ sunt liturgiæ, in quibus vere continetur verbum illud consecratorium, simul et concionatorium, proprie pertinens ad sacramenta. Quod nos quidem tam essentiale statuimus, ut sine eo nulla omnino esse, aut esse posse sacramenta certissimi simus.*'

This is agreeable to the doctrine of our Canon, that all things material, necessary, and essential to the sacraments, are contained in our forms of administration, and therefore the sacraments may be rightly and duly administered by those

[54] Panstrat. De Sacrament. l. 1. c. 15. sect. 10. (t. 4. p. 33 f.) Quid igitur illi veniebat in mentem, cum quæreret, utrum concio sit essentialis, an non? Aut concionem potius quid appellat? Cur mutat verbum concionatorium in concionem? Nam nos quidem solemus concionem appellare pastoris orationem, explicantis applicantisque locum aliquem ex Scripturis. Hanc cur suspicaretur essentialem dici sacramentis, nihil est prorsus causæ. Nam ea est ejusmodi plerumque, ut de baptismo peculiariter nihil agat; de cœna etiam duntaxat nihil, nisi seriam adhortationem ad ejus usum legitimum. Fateor præire concionem utrique sacramento: sed id nos scimus fieri non propter essentiam sacramenti, sed propter ordinem ecclesiæ, &c.

[55] Ibid. c. 11. (p. 34 b.)

forms, by a minister who makes no other sermon, but only that which those forms contain, read audibly and reverently to the people. This is what the French call *verbum sacramentale prædicatum*, in opposition to the Popish muttering of the words of consecration.

But Mr. Baxter says[56], 'If mere reading will make a pastor, then all this may be done by a woman, or a boy of twelve years of age, who can read as well as such a pastor.' This may be agreeable to Mr. Baxter's principles, who, in another place, reckons the sacraments valid, though ministered by such a boy as Athanasius was; but it is not according to the principles either of the French or English Church, who require not only reading, but a solemn ordination, or vocation, and mission of ministers, to qualify them to administer the sacraments; and they never grant this commission to women, or to boys of twelve years old. Therefore Mr. Baxter's instance was not parallel.

There is as little sense or modesty in his other comparison. 'A Turk, that believeth not the Gospel, may read it: and you may write it on a pillar, and that may teach men, and yet pillars and books are not pastors[57].' Are not these very decent expressions for reading ministers, to make Turks, and pillars, and posts of them, after the Church has made them readers in cases of great necessity, when she cannot be supplied with others? But perhaps he thought they were as good words as they deserved: for he says[58], 'They want essential abilities to make them true ministers of Christ. Since essential ability as certainly reacheth to the work of teaching as to administering sacraments.' Be that so, that an ability to teach is essential to the ministry; yet the manner of teaching, either by compositions of their own, or by publishing the authorized compositions of the Church, may still be left at liberty: and it is evident the French Church by teaching does not mean what Mr. Baxter means; that is, preaching a sermon of the minister's own composing, but a solemn preaching of those forms of the Church which contain the whole doctrine of the sacraments, and all that is necessary to be said or done in those matters, either to perform those sacred mysteries aright, or

[56] As before. (p. 119.)
[57] English Nonconformity, as before. (p. 120.)
[58] Ibid., just before the last citation.

instruct the people in the knowledge of them. They call this *Gospel-teaching*, though Mr. Baxter is pleased to say it is no more than women and boys of twelve years old may perform; nay, Turks, and pillars, and books may teach men as well as this, with reverence to the French Church be it spoken. As if pillars and books could speak with the tongues of men; or Turks, or women, or boys, though they could speak and read, could do it authoritatively in public offices without God's commission and the Church's ordination. I believe the discipline of the French Church was not so remiss as to have let such indecent reflections upon the meanest of the reading clergy pass without a censure: but I am sure it gave no encouragement to the people to contemn her offices of baptism and the Lord's supper, because they were administered without a sermon: for, according to her doctrine, the very offices themselves are an instructive sermon; and he that goes from his own parish-church upon the contrary notion acts against her discipline, and incurs her censure.

3. And much more liable to punishment were the ministers, if they either encouraged any such notion, or received communicants from other parishes, against their common rules and discipline. For all ministers were under the obligation of subscription and oath to observe their discipline, and liable to the censure of classes and synods if they transgressed it: they might be admonished, suspended, silenced, excommunicated, and deposed, only for receiving communicants from other parishes, in contempt of their laws and discipline. And if this was no fault, thus to censure ministers in France, it cannot be a reasonable charge against the Church of England. Especially when it is considered that there is a good reason for the canon: for, in cases of necessity, when the Church cannot supply every cure with a preaching minister, it is fitting she should take the best care of them otherwise that she can, by placing ministers of less abilities to perform divine offices according to the forms which are prescribed for them; and when she has done that, it is as fitting she should secure such ministers and their ministry from contempt, and the people from such erroneous opinions as that is, that the virtue of the sacraments depends upon the minister's ability to preach. And the preventing these mischiefs is all that this Canon intended.

But the reason of the Canon being now in a great measure ceased, by God's blessing, there is seldom or never occasion to put the Canon in execution; and consequently, as little occasion, if men would be reasonable, to clamour against it. Besides that, except in this one case of the sacraments, the due administration of which is so well provided for by our public forms, the Canon does not prohibit the people to have recourse to other ministers upon some occasions. The Exhortation before the Communion expressly allows this liberty to such as are troubled in mind: 'If there be any of you, who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief, &c.' And the Twenty-eighth Canon only notes such as come often and commonly from other parishes to hear sermons; in which case the minister is bound to take notice of them, but not upon every single occasion, unless they offer themselves to the communion; in which case he is to remit them home to their own parish-churches. And in this whole affair, the Church of England goes upon no other grounds, nor acts by any other rules, than what I have shown to be agreeable to the rules and discipline of the French Churches.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Fifty-eighth Canon, which treats of the hood and surplice; the Sixty-fifth, which requires ministers to denounce recusants and excommunicated persons every six months; and the Sixty-eighth, which enjoins ministers to baptize and bury without delay.

Two of these Canons have already been considered in preceding parts of this discourse: the Fifty-eighth I have spoken to in the seventh chapter of the third Book[59], which treats of the ornaments of the church, used in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. And the Sixty-eighth Canon, with Mr. Baxter's objections against it, I have considered in the nineteenth and twenty-second chapters of the same Book[60], where I treat of the forms of baptism and burial. All that

[59] Pp. 123—129. [60] Pp. 170 seqq. and 194 seqq.

remains therefore to be spoken in this chapter is of the Sixty-fifth Canon, about denouncing recusants, &c. The words are these: 'All ordinaries shall, in their several jurisdictions, carefully see and give order, that as well those, who for obstinate refusing to frequent divine service,.....as those also, especially of the better sort and condition, who for notorious contumacy, or other notable crimes, stand lawfully excommunicated,.....be every six months ensuing, as well in the parish-church as in the cathedral-church of the diocese in which they remain, by the minister openly in time of divine service upon some Sunday, denounced, and declared excommunicate, that others may be thereby both admonished to refrain their company and society, and excited the rather to procure out a writ, *de excommunicato capiendo*, &c.'

The plain design of this Canon is no more than to make obstinate offenders known to the Church, after they are once lawfully excommunicated, that all persons may shun and avoid their company, as by apostolical precept they are obliged to do. It was the old rule of the primitive Catholic Church, and is still the standing rule of the French Discipline. As is evident,—

1. From their Form of Excommunication, which runs in these terms[61]: 'In the name, and by the authority of our Lord Jesus, by the advice and authority of the pastors and elders assembled in classis, and of the consistory of this church, we have cut off, and do cut off N. N. from the communion of the Church of God; we do excommunicate and deprive him of the fellowship of saints, that so he may be unto you as a pagan, or publican, and that among true believers he may be an *anathema* and execration. Let his company be reputed contagious, and his example possess your souls with astonishment, &c.' The conclusion is, 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *anathema maranatha!* Amen.'

2. Next after this they gave notice of his excommunication to all other churches, that he that was excommunicated in one

[61] See this form in the Book of Discipline, ch. 5. art. 17. (Quick, Introduct. vol. 1. p. 32.) See also the Synod of Alez, 1620, ch. 10. (Q. v. 2. p. 36. A. v. 2. p. 181.)

church might be excluded and avoided in all others[62]: 'Vagrants, heretics, and schismatics shall be notified unto all churches, that they may be aware of them.'

Now, if the excommunication be lawful at first, and may be published in the congregation at once, and notified to all other churches; I see no harm in denouncing the same persons excommunicate every six months, in case they do not reform and obtain absolution. Nor has Mr. Baxter any thing to say against that: but his exceptions are[63], first, 'that it makes ministers the agents of laymen's excommunicating.' And, secondly, 'the instruments of godly men's excommunications and ruins.'

To the first of these I have fully answered before in the first chapter of this Book[64], which discusses the point of canonical obedience. And I could better have answered the second, had he specified whom he means by *godly men*, that ministers are obliged by this Canon to excommunicate and ruin. But to make some conjecture, and guess at his meaning: I suppose, first, he did not mean Popish recusants by godly men; nor, secondly, such as stand lawfully excommunicated for notable crimes: therefore he must mean, thirdly, such as are excommunicated for notorious contumacy against the orders and discipline of the Church. For none but these three sorts are mentioned in the Canon. Now then the question is, Whether these men may be lawfully excommunicated? And if this be to be determined by the rules of the French Discipline, the matter is already decided. For they excommunicate all who either despise the admonitions of the consistory or rebel against the discipline of the Church; of which I have given some proofs before[65] out of the Synod of Alez, ch. 10, art. 22, and the Book of Discipline, ch. 1, art. 47. I add here two canons of the first Synod of Paris, 1559, where the first model of their Discipline was framed, to show that this was ever an invariable rule among them. In that Synod[66], persons who are to be excommunicated, and cut off, not only from the sacrament, but

[62] Synod of Lyons, 1563, ch. 9. art. 25. (Q. v. 1. p. 34. A. art. 2. v. 1. p. 35.)

[63] As before, ch. 22. point. 19. (p. 106.)

[64] Pp. 201—208.

[65] See the ninth chapter of this Book, pp. 250—252.

[66] Ch. 2. art. 29. (Q. v. 1. p. 5. A. art. 30. v. 1. p. 6.)

from all communion with the whole Church, are specified under the titles of 'heretics, contentious persons, rebels against the consistory, traitors to the Church, &c.'

And the next canon says[67], 'such as are excommunicated for heresy, schism, treason, and rebellion against the Church,... shall be denounced excommunicate persons before the people, together with the causes of their excommunication.'

I will not say whether this was to 'excommunicate godly men or no;' but I am sure it gives contumacious persons both as hard names and as severe treatment as any they have from the Church of England. And if there be no writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, mentioned in the French synods, yet there is in the ordinances of Geneva, where the magistrates support the Church and vindicate her authority, by punishing contumacious persons with imprisonment, banishment, and sometimes death itself. For the proof of which, we need go no further than Calvin's Epistles; one of which gives us the heads of their ecclesiastical discipline, where the first article runs in this style[68]: 'If any one spread doctrines contrary to the received doctrine of the Church, and upon admonition persists obstinate and pertinaciously addicted to his error, then let him be suspended from the Lord's supper and complained of to the senate.' The next article is in the same style[69]: 'If any persons neglect the sacred assemblies, and it appear to be done out of contempt, &c., after three admonitions let them be suspended from the Lord's supper, and information be given to the magistrate against them.'

Now the reason of giving information to the magistrate in such cases, was, as Calvin words it a little after[70], 'that such

[67] Art. 30. (Q. ibid. p. 6. A. art. 31. ibid. p. 6.)

[68] Ep. ad Magistr. Genev. (Oper. t. 9. p. 76.) Si quis dogmata spargat receptæ in ecclesia doctrinæ contraria, amice et fraterne moneatur: si acquiescat, remittatur sine ulla infamiæ nota: si pervicax fuerit vel pertinacius addictus sit errori suo, serio moneatur, donec judicet consistorium majori severitate opus esse; ac tunc quidem interdicatur illi usus cœnæ, et deferatur ad senatum.

[69] Ibid. (p. 76.) Si qui sacros conventus negligant, ut palam appareat id contemptu fieri,... si qui obstinate in deterius pergant, postquam ter fuerint moniti, prohibeantur ab usu cœnæ, idque magistratui indicetur.

[70] Ibid. (p. 77.) .... Ut duros et indomitos homines coërceatis, quibus contemptui est spiritualis correctio.... Postquam [consistorium] suis partibus fuerit functum, jubetur ad vos magistratus deferre, ne contemptores impune adversus ecclesiam lasciviant. Atque ita distincta est ratio, ut penes consistorium jus

obdurate and undisciplinable men might be corrected with civil punishments who contemned the spiritual.....After the consistory has performed their part, they are commanded to inform you, the magistrates, that despisers of the Church should not wantonly trample upon her authority. It is the consistory's right to excommunicate, and in your power to correct as you see fit, those that rebel against it.'

See also his Epistle to Menso Poppius, where, speaking of such as contemn the censures of the Church, he says[71], 'I see not what the elders have more to do, unless it be to move the magistrates to handle them a little more severely.'

This I think is equivalent to a writ *de excommunicato capiendo,* and makes the Geneva Discipline as liable to Mr. Baxter's exception in every respect as the present Canon of the English Church.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Seventy-second Canon, and the rule for appointing public fasts in the French Church.

Among other things excepted against by nonconformists, the prescription of the Seventy-second Canon is one. That Canon enjoins, 'That no minister or ministers shall, without license and direction of the bishop of the diocese first obtained and had under his hand and seal, appoint and keep any solemn fasts, either publicly or in private houses, other than such as by law are, or by public authority shall be appointed; nor shall they be wittingly present at any of them under pain of suspension for the first fault, of excommunication for the second, and of deposition from the ministry for the third. Neither shall any minister, not licensed as is aforesaid, presume to appoint or hold any meetings for sermons, ... nor attempt by fasting and prayer to cast out any devil, &c.'

Mr. Baxter, in his scurrilous way, compares this to 'the forbidding Christianity, or reading Scripture in a known tongue,' and to 'the forbidding law and the use of reason;' and asks[72], 'Are not those men over subject to prelacy, that

excommunicandi maneat, vos autem imperio coërceatis rebelles, ubi ita visum fuerit.

[71] Ibid. (p. 205.).... Ac proinde nihil senioribus restare video, nisi ut magistratum exstimulent ad eos durius coërcendos.

[72] English Nonconformity, chap. 35. point 32. (p. 123.)

will swear obedience in this, any more than against preaching the Gospel?'

Yet as subject as he makes these men to prelacy, the ministers of France are as subject to the orders of the presbytery, and swear the same canonical obedience to them. For, by a canon of their Church Discipline, all fasts are to be held only at the appointment and discretion of the Church[73]: 'In times of sore persecution, and of war, pestilence, or famine, or any other grievous affliction; as also when ministers of the Gospel are to be ordained, and when a question is moved about calling a national synod, one day or more may be set apart for public and extraordinary prayers and fasting; yet without any scruple or superstition. And all this shall be done upon mature consideration of the grounds and causes of these providences. And the churches shall be advised to celebrate the fast as much as possibly they can at the same time, &c.'

Now does not this suppose, that it belongs only to the governors of the Church, and not to every individual minister, to appoint the times of solemn fasting? Else why should they limit particular churches, both as to the causes and times of fasting, as it is plain they do in this canon?

But there was another canon made in the Synod of Rochelle, 1607, which speaks more expressly to the purpose. It was made by way of observation on the aforesaid canon of their Discipline[74]. Their license is given to particular churches to celebrate a fast, 'they first consulting with their neighbour churches, and on great and urgent causes, for which they shall be accountable unto the classes and provincial synods.' It seems they must not do it of their own head, but by the advice of a classis. And is it not as reasonable to have recourse to a bishop in an episcopal church, as to a classis in a presbyterian? Change but a few terms, and Mr. Baxter's questions will now hold as well against the Church of France as the Church of England. 'Do you not think that they make very unworthy men ministers, or that they change or maim the pastoral office, when no minister, no, not the wisest, may be trusted to fast and pray with his neighbours? What

[73] Ch. 10. art. 3. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 43.)

[74] Ch. 3. art. 21. (Q. v. 1. p. 268. A. v. 1. p. 306.)

jealousies have such a clergy of one another, and of preaching, and fasting, and praying? What if some neighbours have some great temptations, some great guilt, some great danger, by a plague or the like, or some great affliction; some friends near death, or some important business of great moment, as marriage, travel, navigation, &c.; must the bishop know' (must a classis or the neighbouring churches know) 'all their secrets that their pastor at home must know? Are not those unworthy ministers, that be not fit to be trusted to fast and pray with their people, while the law is open to punish all abuses of it?' (while they stand accountable to classes and provincial synods for their abuses of it?) 'And are not those over subject to prelacy' (over subject to presbytery) 'that will swear obedience in this, any more than against preaching the Gospel?'

Who sees not that the Church of France is as much involved in this charge as the Church of England, for putting unworthy men into the ministry who cannot be trusted to fast and pray with their people, without consulting a classis, or their neighbouring churches?

But I have one thing further to say upon this point, that the French Canons limit their ministers to do nothing without license, in many other cases as material as that of solemn fasts. They have a general rule in the Book of Discipline[75], 'That no church shall assume unto itself a power of undertaking business of great consequence, in which the interest or damage of other churches may be concerned, without the advice and consent of the provincial synod, if it may possibly be convened. And be the affair never so urgent, it shall at least be communicated by letters unto some other churches in the province, and they shall receive and take their advice about it.'

In the same chapter this general rule is particularized in a special instance of entering upon disputes with the Papists about religion, where it is ordered[76], 'that no ministers shall attempt a public disputation, but with the advice of their consistory and a select number of pastors, who for this purpose shall be chosen by the classes or provincial synods. Nor shall they enter upon any general conference, without the advice of

[75] Ch. 6. art. 2. (Quick, Introd. v. 1. p. 36.) [76] Art. 4. (ibid. p. 36.)

all the churches assembled in a national synod; upon pain, if they act otherwise, of being declared apostates, and deserters of the Church's union.'

Now is it not as proper to take the advice of the bishop before a man appoints a solemn fast, or goes about to cast out a devil, as it is before he enters upon a solemn disputation? And yet we see, the Church of France would not allow any private minister to undertake this without consulting a classis, or synod, lest some inconvenience should happen thereby, for which the whole Church would suffer in her reputation. And that I take to be the true reason of the Seventy-second Canon of our Church also: and whatever is said against it by Mr. Baxter, or others, it is but a reasonable and proper caution. For it is better to have the ablest ministers under some limitation, than that the Church should be exposed by the follies and indiscretions of some, who have not ability to judge what is always proper to be done in such extraordinary cases, as appointing of solemn fasts or casting out devils.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the respect paid to the national synods in the French Church, and that it is greater than is required by the One hundred and thirty-ninth Canon of the Church of England.

The next Canon Mr. Baxter and others except against is the Hundred and thirty-ninth, which is in these words: 'Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ, and by the king's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicate, and not restored till he repent, and publicly revoke this his wicked error.'

Two things they have to except against this: first, that a national synod is not the true Church of England by representation; and, secondly, if it were, yet they cannot consent and swear to publish an excommunication against any one that denies it, as the Canon requires.

But if they were ministers of the French Church, they must be obliged to consent to both these. For they must subscribe, and swear to the Confession of Faith, as the confession of the French Church; to the Discipline, as the discipline of the

Church; to the canons of the Synods, as the canons of the Church. Now, how come all these to be the confession, the discipline, and the canons of the French Church, unless it be, that the synods in which they were made were the French Church by representation? Is it because they are received and confirmed afterwards in particular churches? No; but because their pastors in provincial synods choose their deputies, and send them in their name, and with their commission, to represent all their churches. Whence it is, that a national synod becomes their Church representative. And I know no difference betwixt their synods and ours in this respect, save only, that they swear beforehand to observe and execute all the decrees that shall be made in the synod to which they send them, which we do not. For in England we have no such anticipating oath, but in France they have, in this form appointed by the Synod of Vitré, 1617[77]: 'We promise before God, to submit ourselves to all that shall be concluded and determined in your holy assembly, to obey and execute it to the utmost of our power; being persuaded that God will preside among you, and lead you, by his Holy Spirit, into all truth and equity, by the rule of his Word, for the good and edification of his Church, &c.' This oath is always inserted into the letters of disputation, by the pastors which send their respective deputies to the national synod, whereby they acknowledge the synod not only to be the Church representative, but next to infallible.

After this, can we think they would allow any man apertly to call in question the authority of a national synod, and dispute whether it was the Church representative or not? And whilst they decree excommunication in many particular cases against those who transgress but some single canons, suffer those to go uncensured who strike at the foundation of their authority, and deny the very essence of their constitution? If all their pastors swear to observe this discipline, are they not then under oath to excommunicate such as refuse to subject them to it? And much more those who speak contemptuously of the synods that made it? And if this be the case of all the ministers of France, they could never think (whatever our Dissenters may) that the requiring obedience to the One hundred and thirty-ninth Canon was a just cause for separation. For

[77] Ch. 2. art. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 478. A. ch. 1. art. 20. v. 2. p. 81.)

they have declared over and over again, that the contempt of national synods is a crime of very pernicious consequence, and by no means to be endured. Their Book of Discipline[78] orders all churches to be informed, 'that their ecclesiastical assemblies of classes and synods, whether provincial or national, were the bands and buttresses of their concord and union against schisms, heresies, and all other inconveniences; that so they might discharge their duty in the use of means, for the continuance and upholding of those ecclesiastical assemblies.'

And the Synod of Montauban, 1594, adds further to this canon[79], 'that if any churches refused payment of their contributions to the defraying those expenses which are unavoidably contracted by journeys, and attendance in those synodical assemblies, that they should be deprived of the ministry of the Gospel, and be reputed deserters of that holy union which ought to be preserved among them.' And all ministers in such churches are interdicted the exercise of their ministry upon pain of being denounced schismatics.

Now what is this but the severest excommunication, to lay churches under interdict, and deny them the Gospel-ministry? Yet ministers are obliged by this canon and their oath of obedience so to treat whole churches for their contempt of synods, upon pain of being denounced schismatics themselves.

There are many other decrees of the like nature in their national synods: I will only add one more out of the Synod of Rochelle, 1607, where[80] even a provincial synod is severely censured for transgressing a decree of the national Synod of Gap, and it is declared to be a crime of very dangerous consequence; 'because, if provincial synods shall slight the authority of the national, they will open the floodgates to let in upon us a deluge of unseen mischiefs.'

If provincial synods may not slight national synods, much less may particular persons be allowed to speak any thing

[78] Ch. 6. art. 5. (Quick, Introduct. v. 1. p. 37.)

[79] Ch. 3. art. 10. (Q. v. 1. p. 159. A. v. 1. p. 177.)

[80] Ch. 9. art. 1. (Q. v. 1. p. 280.) [Conf. Aymon. (v. 1. p. 317.).... C'est pourquoi elle a jugé le dit synode tres censurable, pour avoir, par une telle contrevention, fait ouverture à une très-mauvaise consequence, qui s'en ensuivroit, si les synodes provinciaux, ne se tenoient pas aux resolutions des nationaux. Ed.]

derogatory or contemptuously of them: and if they do, it may be a crime deserving excommunication, which is all that the One hundred and thirty-ninth Canon asserts.

What has there been alleged will serve for an answer also to the exceptions made by Mr. Baxter to the two last Canons. The former of which is the One hundred and fortieth Canon: 'Whosoever shall affirm that no manner of persons, either of the clergy or laity, not being then particularly assembled in the said sacred synod, are to be subject to the decrees thereof, in causes ecclesiastical, made and ratified by the King's Majesty's supreme authority, as not having given their voice to them: let him be excommunicated, &c.'

His exception against this is [81], 'that he thinks it unjust to excommunicate any such person, because even general Councils do not bind the absent till they receive them. The French for a long time received not the Council of Trent, nor many Churches other Councils.'

But I have already shown that the reformed Church of France had another notion of their national synods, whatever the Papists had of the Council of Trent, and thought themselves obliged to submit to and obey their decrees, though they were not present, save only by their delegates, at the making of them. They did not stay to see whether the churches would receive their decrees, but peremptorily required every individual to obey them. Of which I shall only give this one instance in the Synod of Loudun, 1659 [82]. 'Provincial synods are enjoined to make such canons as they shall judge needful for the stricter observation of the Lord's-day; and every individual member of our churches,' say they, 'are most strictly commanded conscientiously to observe and obey them.'

I hope it will not be thought that every individual member of the Church was present in their synods, yet they are bound in conscience to obey them. And if they were bound in conscience to obey them, I suppose they would not scruple to think those worthy of excommunication who made no conscience to vilify and deride the power that made them.

The last Canon is, 'Whoever shall affirm that the sacred synod assembled, as aforesaid, was a company of such persons

[81] As before, ch. 36. point 33. *(p. 125.)*

[82] Ch. 10. art. 4. (Q. v. 2. p. 551. A. v. 2. p. 774.)

as did conspire together against godly and religious professors of the Gospel, and that therefore both they and their proceedings in making canons and constitutions in causes ecclesiastical by the king's authority, ought to be despised and contemned; the same being ratified, confirmed, and enjoined by the said regal power, supremacy, and authority: let them be excommunicated, &c.' Mr. Baxter cannot consent to this neither.

It seems [83], ecclesiastical laws and governors may be despised and contemned, traduced and reviled at pleasure, and yet the revilers be thought too good Christians to deserve excommunication for it. Otherwise, why should any one refuse to excommunicate such, if required by a lawful superior to do it? This is a scruple in England, but it never was any in the French Church. The clergy there would not refuse to observe the whole body of their discipline, and promise and swear to do it, though there be canons requiring them to excommunicate persons for less crimes than this of "despising dominions, and speaking evil of dignities."

Before I close this point, I cannot but take notice of Mr. Baxter's causeless quarrel with the number of the Canons also, only because they are *one hundred and forty-one:* 'for so many Church Commandments we have,' says he [84], 'God's Ten being but a little part of our religion.'

There is nothing so trivial, but if it cannot be made an argument, may be improved into a spiteful reflection. Something he would insinuate in this, as if all church-canons were an addition to God's Word and the Ten Commandments. But be it what it will, the Church of France stands more accountable for multiplying canons than ours, by far; for her number is almost double in the Book of Discipline, which contains two hundred and fifty-four canons, besides the canons of twenty-nine national synods, which make up the body of their canon-law and are the rule of governing their churches.

I could also have said here, that Mr. Knox's Form of Church Policy, which may be seen in Bishop Spotswood's History [85], consists of more canons, but I purposely confine myself to the French Churches, whose canons I hope I have made it appear

[83] See English Nonconformity, ch. 37. point 34. (p. 125.)

[84] Ibid. (p. 125.)

[85] Book 3, anno 1560. (pp. 152, seqq.) *A Form of Church-Policy, &c.*

which are not our sins are to be born
make a schism in any Church.

I HAVE now gone through all the parts
stitution, and shown that the chief things
dissenters are justifiable upon the principle
French Church. The inference from all
separation upon the account of such th
England, or else it is lawful and necessa
France; and they who abstain from ou
abstain from the other also. For if what
true, the rules of France and Geneva wou
men nonconformists, as the laws of Englan
and acted upon the same principles ag
constitutions.

But I have one thing further to add bef
is, that supposing some things to be pract
England which might be called *faults, inco*
in her constitution, yet all kinds of fault
authorize men to make a separation, if we
of the French Church.

Calvin and Beza had often occasion to i
and they do it pathetically and zealously,
one of the best arguments against schis
preserver of peace and unity in the Churc
tolerandos judico, ubi emendari non pos

'*I think many defects are to be tolerated when they cannot be amended.* And in my opinion no brother ought upon that account to withdraw himself from that Church whereunto he is assigned, if the greater part of the Church agree upon any thing to his disliking. In such cases it seems enough to me that we ourselves endeavour, as far as we may, after what we think better. For though that which is obtruded on us may create scandal, and be attended with evil consequences; yet, because it is not in itself repugnant to the Word of God, it may be yielded to: especially when the greater number is for it, and he that is but a member of the body has no power to proceed any further.'

There are many things remarkable in this answer, and several of our controverted points resolved in it.

1. We must not call all manner of defects in a Church downright repugnances to the Word of God.

2. We must not separate from the Church whereof we are members for such tolerable defects as we may comply with without sin, though they should sin that impose this necessity on us.

3. Even such defects as may be attended with scandal and other evil consequences will not authorize us to make a separation, so long as they are not simply evil in themselves.

4. That our complying for peace' sake in such cases does not involve us in any guilt, nor make us partakers of other men's sins. All which are contrary to the common notions so current among dissenters, and destroy the main principles whereby they would establish the present separation.

Calvin wrote after the same healing way to Mr. Knox in Scotland[87]. 'I hope,' says he, 'your rigour about ceremonies, which is displeasing to many, will keep itself within due bounds of moderation. We ought to endeavour, indeed, to purge the Church of all its filth, which owes its original to error and

quando ei, qui membrum est tantum illius corporis, nulla ratio suppetit ulterius pergendi.

[87] Ep. ad Johan. Knox. (ibid. p. 150.) In cærimoniis confido, tuum rigorem, quamvis multis displiceat, moderatum tamen fore. Danda quidem opera est, ut ecclesia sordibus omnibus purgetur, quæ ex errore et superstitione manarunt: sedulo etiam eniti oportet, ne fœdentur Dei mysteria ludicris vel insipidis mixturis. Hac exceptione posita, quædam etsi minus probentur, toleranda esse non ignoras.

account of them. ... we cannot ...
may tolerate such defects, not approving th
is no impiety nor any thing repugnant to
them. Where the doctrine is sound and
monies are used for decency or civil ornam
silently to pass these things over, than r
grievous stirs about them.'

Calvin's moderate counsels would go
healing our divisions, if all men would thin
not only to put this advice in practice,
what they might with silence, for peace a
raise no violent stirs about them.

I could give many instances of the like
Calvin's works, especially his Epistles [89],
one place more, which I think carries th
further than anything I have yet relate
Farel, written during the time of their ex
he tells him [90], 'Some of their friends in t
to him in his exile, to desire his resolu
points: Whether it was lawful to recei
from the hands of those ministers who
them in their stead? And, Whether they
cum tanta hominum colluvie, with all t
of the people, which were then in that pl

[88] Ep. ad N. N. (ibid. p. 147.)... tur, silenti

tions, having consulted with Capito at Strasburgh, he says he returned this answer, 'That there ought to be so great an hatred of schism among Christians, that they should avoid it as far as ever possibly they might. That there ought to be such a reverence for the ministry and sacraments, that wherever they perceived those to be, they should conclude there was a Church. Since therefore by God's permission the Church was governed by those ministers, whatever sort of men they were; if they could find the true marks of a Church there, it was better that they should not withdraw themselves from its communion. Nor might it be any obstacle that *some unsound doctrines, impura quædam dogmata,* were taught there: for there is scarce any Church which does not retain some relics of ignorance. It is sufficient for us that the doctrine whereupon the Church of Christ is founded keep its place, and obtain. Nor should it be any hindrance that he who now ministered could not be called a lawful pastor, who had not only fraudulently crept, but wickedly intruded, into the place of the true minister. For there was no reason why every private man should perplex and molest himself with such kind of scruples: for they communicate in the sacraments with the Church; and bear with the dispensation of them at such ministers' hands. It concerns such ministers indeed very much to consider whether they lawfully or unlawfully possess their places, but others may suspend their judgment till they have a legal hearing. Meanwhile they may use their ministry, with-

inter Christianos esse odium schismatis, ut semper, quoad liceat, refugiant. Tantam ministerii ac sacramentorum reverentiam esse oportere, ut, ubicunque exstare hæc cernunt, ecclesiam esse censeant. Quando igitur Domini permissu fit, ut per illos, qualescunque tandem sint, ecclesia administretur; si ecclesiæ signa illic conspiciunt, satius fore, si non se a communione alienent. Nec obest, quod impura quædam dogmata illic tradantur; reliquias enim ignorantiæ, vix ulla est ecclesia, quæ prorsus nullas retineat. Nobis sufficit, si doctrina, qua ecclesia Christi fundatur, locum habeat atque obtineat. Nec illud nos moratur, quod legitimus haberi pastor non debet, qui in locum veri ministri non tantum irrepserit fraudulenter, sed nefarie irruperit. Non enim est, cur se privatorum unusquisque istis scrupulis implicet: sacramenta cum ecclesia communicant; per eorum manus dispensari sibi sustinent: quos enim tenere locum intelligunt, jure an injuria, quanquam ad ipsos pertinet, de eo tamen judicium suspendere usque ad legitimam cognitionem, possunt. Itaque si eorum ministerio utantur, non tamen periculum erit, ne aut cognoscere, aut approbare, aut ullo pacto ratum habere videantur.

cere preaching of the word or due adminis
ments, and men are not compelled to appr
to tolerate such failings; in such cases
ought to be so great an hatred of schis
**rather bear with such defects in the Ch
communion upon the account of them: a
any Church which has not some relics of ig
of this nature.**

Beza's judgment was exactly the same,
answers he gave to persons who moved
and scruples to him. In his second Ep
says, 'Some are greatly offended with th
omit the ceremony of breaking the bread
retain the custom of putting the bread int
mouths, instead of their hands, as is p
Papists; and for these failings they conde
as guilty of profaning the Lord's supper,
municate with them.' Now to these obje
answer[91]: 'Many things are right and
yet are not simply and absolutely neces
they, who so urge the necessity of rece
their hands, as to think the Lord's supper
Churches where the other custom is still
perstition, and much more without impie
lessness and oversight of the pastors an

selves are rather guilty of some ignorance in these matters, or of self-conceit and moroseness.'

If Beza judge right, there may be inconvenient customs and ceremonies retained in a Church, and that by the fault of the pastors and magistrates too, and yet the communion of the Church be so far from being profaned thereby, that they who condemn it, and separate from it upon that account, are rather to be judged ignorant and self-conceited men.

He has a great deal more upon this subject in that Epistle, the conclusion of which is to this purpose[92]: 'That they sin greatly, both against themselves and their brethren, who upon the account of such failings or corruptions disquiet their own and other men's consciences, as if Christian religion lay at stake, and were ready to be destroyed.—Admit something is wrong done in some Churches: are they therefore no Christians, nor to be accounted brethren? As certainly we do not account them, if we think it unlawful to communicate with them. But by this means, say they, we shall partake in their sins. No, this is a wrong inference. For, to come rightly prepared to the Lord's supper, it concerns not me to inquire with what conscience other men come, but my concern is only about my own conscience. Therefore, though I come with adulterers, and murderers, and the most profligate wretches, their impurity cannot hurt me who am pure and no ways accessory to their faults. And what I say of morals, I say also of doctrine, in which both preachers and hearers are many times faulty. Yea, I will say one thing further, though a minister should

[92] Ibid. (p. 29.).... Sentiam... gravissime nimirum et in semetipsos et in fratres reliquos peccare, qui nævis istis, aut etiam, si mavis, corruptelis et suas et aliorum conscientias non leviter perturbant, perinde ac si de Christianismo semel sublato ageretur.... Esto enim, vitiose hoc vel illud a nonnullis fiat, aut prætermittatur, an propterea Christiani non sunt nec pro fratribus habendi? Nam certe fratres non ducimus, quibuscum sacram communionem habere nobis nefas esse ducimus. At enim, inquiunt, sic videmur illorum peccatis communicare. Immo falsissima est hæc consecutio. Nec enim, ut rite ad cœnam accedam, scrutandum est mihi, qua quisque conscientia ad eam mecum accedat, sed de mea ipsius conscientia mihi laborandum est. Itaque et cum adulteris et cum homicidis et cum sceleratissimis quibusvis, modo nulla mea culpa tales sint, si ad cœnam castus et sceleris purus accessero, nihil illorum impuritas mihi nocuerit. Et quod de moribus dico, etiam de doctrina dico, quam interdum nec pastores satis pure tradunt, nec auditores satis recte percipiunt. Dicam etiam amplius, si vel Turcam vel Judæum pastor quispiam sive prudenter sive imprudens

to cherish their error. Not so neither.
absurd than to accuse a man of favouri
only bears with his brother's infirmit
person? If the bread be given to you
or if it be put into your mouth, and no
are things you cannot commend indee
it is not committed by you, but again
may condemn it privately in your own
in its proper season, when there may
your weak brethren. But beware you
munion, offended, as if Christianity lay
preposterous rigour destroy others, a
great an advantage.'

These are those sober counsels and s
which Calvin and Beza endeavoured t
the minds of Protestant people, whenev
any the least tendency toward a separ
observed [93], that Beza did good servi

ter admitteret, tota illius facti culpa in illum recideret, nec ego propterea cunctanter ad mensam Domini accessero: quoniam alterius conscientia impura, modo extra culpam sim, meam, quæ pura est, non polluit, et ea ipsa cœna mihi pura est, quam impurus ille profanat. An igitur, obsecro, ejus ecclesiæ corruptela polluimur, quæ vel ignorantia vel infir-

fratrem l
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atque etia

England in giving the like advice to some discontented persons here, who were so aggrieved at the ceremonies, that they had thoughts of forsaking the communion of the Church upon it. But Beza being consulted about that matter, better advised them. He told them plainly[94], 'Many things not only may, but ought to be tolerated, which are not rightly enjoined. Therefore my first answer is, that though it is not rightly done to bring back those garments into the Church again, at least, in my opinion; yet seeing they are not of that kind of things which are impious in themselves, they do not seem to me to be of that moment, as that either the pastors thereupon should forsake their ministry rather than wear them, or the flocks forego their public food rather than hear their pastors preaching in such garments. Those things which the pastors have no power to alter let them bear with, rather than by deserting their churches give occasion to Satan to introduce greater and more dangerous evils, which is the thing he so earnestly drives at. And to the people our advice is, that so long as the doctrine continues uncorrupt, they should notwithstanding these things hear it attentively, and use the sacraments religiously, &c.'

He gives the same advice with respect to church-music, the cross in baptism, the interrogatories used in baptism, the use of unleavened bread, and kneeling at the Lord's supper[95]: 'Since these things are not idolatrous in themselves, I think the same of them as of those before mentioned: that is, neither the ministers should forsake their calling, nor the people the communion of the Church, though they did not altogether like or approve of those things.'

[94] Ep. 12. (p. 107.) Possunt ac etiam debent multa tolerari, quæ tamen recte non præcipiuntur. Itaque primum respondemus, etsi ista, nostro quidem judicio, non recte revehuntur in ecclesiam, tamen quum non sint ex earum rerum genere, quæ per se impiæ sunt, non videri nobis illas tanti momenti, ut propterea vel pastoribus deserendum sit potius ministerium, quam ut vestes illas assumant, vel gregibus omittendum publicum pabulum potius, quam ita vestitos pastores audiant. ..... Sed ista tamen, quæ mutare [pastores] non possunt, ferant potius, quam ecclesias ob eam causam deserendo majoribus et periculosioribus malis occasionem Satanæ, nihil aliud quærenti, præbeant. Gregibus autem, integra manente doctrina, suademus, ut doctrinam ipsam nihilo minus attente audiant, sacramentis religiose utantur, &c.

[95] Ibid. (p. 109.) .... Cum ista per se non sint idololatrica, idem de illis, quod de proxime præcedentibus, sentimus.

These are undeniable proofs that at least, in the opinion of Calvin and Beza, some defects are to be tolerated in all Churches, and that separation is not to be made upon the account of such inconveniences, as it may be better to bear with than raise a schism in the Church about them.

I must further observe, that the French Church upon this principle ever professed a readiness to join in communion with the Lutheran Churches, notwithstanding many more either real or supposed defects, than can be objected to the Church of England. For we are told the Lutherans receive the use of exorcism in baptism, and the name of *the mass* for the eucharist, and stone altars instead of communion-tables; that they celebrate in unleavened bread, and have some hymns sung in the Latin tongue; that they retain images for history in their churches, and require auricular confession in some sort, with other things of the like nature. Not to mention their doctrines of consubstantiation, ubiquity, &c., which are known errors, commonly embraced by persons of that communion. Yet notwithstanding all this, the French Churches are so far from encouraging a separation from the Lutheran Churches, that they themselves have ever most heartily and readily, as they had occasion, communicated with them. Calvin not only subscribed the Augsburgh Confession, as he himself tells us in his Epistle to Scalingius [96], but says further, that it was both Bucer's opinion and his own [97], that there was no just cause to divide from Luther upon the account of those external observances which he retained in the Church.

And Alting assures us, this was the common opinion of the reformed divines who followed Bucer and Calvin. For, proposing this question in his Problems, Whether the Orthodox may lawfully communicate in the Lord's supper with the Lutherans? he resolves it in the affirmative upon these four arguments [98]: 1. Because they all agree in fundamentals. 2. Because men ought to preserve unity in the Church, and hate

[96] (Oper. t. 9. p. 113.) Nec vero Augustanam Confessionem repudio, cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi, sicuti eam auctor ipse interpretatus est.

[97] Ep. ad Farel. (ibid. p. 39.) Non patitur Bucerus, ut ob externas illas observatiunculas a Luthero disjungamur. Nec sane justas esse puto dissidii causas.

[98] Theolog. Problem. part. 2. probl. 18. p. 331. (ap. Script. Theolog. Heidelberg. t. 2. p. 165.) Confirmatio hujus sententiæ, &c.

schism. 3. Because we have the example of the Prophets, and of Christ and his Apostles for communicating in more corrupt Churches than the Lutherans are. 4. Because the best divines of the last age have approved it, as Capito, Bucer, Calvin, Martyr, Zanchy, Ursin, Tossanus, Paræus, Scultetus, and others; some of whom, as they had occasion, did actually communicate with them.'

Mr. Quick himself tells us [1], that Monsieur Toussaint, pastor of the Church of Orleans, being driven into Germany by the heat of persecution, joined himself readily with the Churches there, and spake honourably of their communion, even when he was cited before Brentius [2], Jacobus Andreas [3], and other divines of Stutgard, to give an account of his preaching. He told them, 'the poor Churches of France breathed after peace with them, and with all the Churches of the Augustan Confession, and had written for it, and prayed for it, and for the last ten years had spilt no other ink but their own blood in defence of the truth.'

But we have a greater testimony than all these, which is the determination of the national Synod of Tonneins, 1614, where, treating of expedients for reuniting the Protestant Churches, they say [4], 'There are some points in difference betwixt us and the Lutheran Churches, wherein our agreement is very easy: of this nature are the ceremonies of the Lutheran Churches, which may be excused and tolerated, because they are matters of decency, not necessity.'

And again [5], 'If a man communicate at the Lord's table with a person that errs in the doctrine of predestination, or about the nature of Jesus Christ, or who believes that the body of

[1] Introduction to the Synodicon. (p. 59.)

[2] [John Brentzen was born in Suabia in 1499, was educated at Heidelberg University, and, after joining the Reformers, became pastor, first at Halle and then at Stutgard. He died in 1570. His Commentaries are still much esteemed. Ed.]

[3] [Jacques André was born at Waiblingen in the duchy of Wurtemberg in 1528, and was educated at Tubingen, of which University he eventually became the provost. He died in 1598. He was a Lutheran divine of very great attainments, and of corresponding influence. His numerous writings are chiefly of a polemical character. Ed.]

[4] Ch. 18. art. 13. (Q. v. 1. p. 435. A. v. 2. p. 59.)—There is also a like decree in the Synod of Charenton, 1631, ch. 22, art. 4. (Q. v. 2. p. 297. A. ch. 22. art. 1. v. 2. p. 51.)

[5] Ibid. art. 17. (Q. v. 1. p. 436. A. v. 2. p. 61.)

appointed to negotiate the matter with

The proposal was again renewed
1603, where the assembly ordered[8] l
to the Universities of England, Germ
Basle and Leyden, and to Messieurs
taines in London, entreating them
effecting the same holy union; and
engaged to put forth their authority he
be more firmly united among themselves
and the same doctrine [9].]

These are truly healing principle
expedients for peace and union. An
from the Church of England but conse
by these principles, and pursue the m
Synod of Tonneins, I dare be bold to sa
Synod, that the difference about the
practised in our Church might easily b
might excuse and tolerate them at les
justify them. Our Church's practice, a
is not more corrupt than the Lutheran
more unlawful than theirs: and if by

[6] Ch. 4. art. 27. (Q. v. 1. p. 153. A. v. 1. p. 170.)

[7] [Antonius Sadule, or Antoine de Chandieu, an eminent promoter

Secessio
put. 8. 1
tertio ev
anorum

French Church a man may safely communicate with the Lutherans, notwithstanding their errors and faults, both in doctrine and practice, which are apparently greater than any that can be pretended in the Church of England; I see not why upon the same principles it will not follow, that the communion of the Church of England is by all means to be embraced, and separation to be avoided, even though it were proved that there were some things faulty, either in the Church's doctrine or practice, which might admit of a regular and seasonable reformation.

Having said this, I conclude, that whatever way we consider this matter, the communion of the Church of England is justified, and the objections of dissenters truly answered upon the principles of the French Church; which either herself practises the very same things that are excepted against in our communion, as I have proved in most instances she does, or else commends and approves what she does not practise; or at least allows them as things tolerable and such as may be borne with, rather than divide communion and break the Church's peace: which were the things I at first undertook to show from the Acts and Decrees of the French National Synods, which are the greatest authority of the Reformed Church of France.

THE CONCLU

Containing a serious address to
refugees of the French Church, to j
communion with the Church of En

I HAVE nothing more to do but to cl
serious exhortation to such persons as
are chiefly such dissenters as make
have examined in this Book, to justif
the Church of England. To these, whe
I must take leave to say, and here onc
it, that they act and go upon such pr
them to separate from the French C
other Protestant Churches.

I. As to what concerns *the commu*
ticular, I have plainly made it appea
ditions are required of them in the E
are as much insisted on in the Church
Offices of Baptism, and the Lord's Su
divine service. If the English Church
power to decree rites and ceremonies,
bers peaceably to use and submit to the
does the same in her Councils and Syn
indifferent things, and obliging the p

particular account in the foregoing treatise. Now either men must say, that the Church of England uses but a lawful power in prescribing such rites as these, and that all men ought peaceably to comply with her rules, and join Christianly in full communion with her; or else that the French Church abuses her power likewise, and that there is as great a necessity to separate from her communion as from the communion of the Church of England. But if they cannot consent to condemn the French Church, then neither in justice ought they to condemn the English: since the reasons of communion and separation are the very same in both, and he that forsakes the communion of the one, is by his principles obliged to forsake the other also. When men will take time to consider this impartially, as here they are called upon to do, and directed also in this discourse how to make a true judgment of the practice of both Churches compared together, it may then be hoped they will lay aside their prejudices against the Church of England, and quit those principles, which if truly followed, will lead them to separate from the French Church, and, it may be, all the Churches of the Reformation.

II. I say the same with respect to *the teachers also:* the very same reasons and principles that make them keep up and maintain separate meetings in England, would oblige them to do the like in France, were they resolved to pursue the same measures that they do here. For conformity and uniformity are no less strictly required by the rules of the French Church, than they are by the English. The same subscriptions and oaths, and assent and consent, and vows and covenants, and canonical obedience, are exacted of the French ministers as are of us here, and he that will not or cannot comply with those conditions, can regularly be no minister of the French Church. He must either be debarred from entering into the ministry at first, or be censured, silenced, and deposed; if after his subscription to their Articles, Liturgy, Discipline, or Canons, he acts contrary to his subscription, or raises any contention about them. When he is thus deposed, he must peaceably submit to the deposition and leave off officiating as a minister; not set up a separate meeting, and preach, when silenced, against the will of his superiors. The first is agreeable to the rules both of the French and English Church, but nonconformists in England

call it sacrilegious desertion: and therefore they take the other way, and set up separate meetings, and preach when silenced by the law, though that be as contrary to the rules and discipline of the French Church as it is to those of the Church of England. Hence it is plain, that they, who set up and maintain separate meetings in England, must, upon the same reasons and principles, think themselves obliged to do the same in the French Church also. For it cannot now be pretended that the conditions of the ministry in the English Church are so vastly different from the French, that ministers are forced to set up separate meetings here, which they should not be compelled to do there: since I have shown this plea to be groundless by examining the particular exceptions made against subscription in England; and proving that the very same, if not much greater difficulties occur in the subscriptions of the French Church.

Nor do I see what can be urged further in this case, unless it be the business of re-ordination, which some reckon so great a charge against the Act of Uniformity; because it obliges every beneficiary to receive episcopal ordination, according to the form and rites of the Church of England. But what harm there is in this, I confess I never yet could see; and I am sure there is nothing in it contrary to the principles or practice of Geneva, nor perhaps of the whole French Church. For,

1. At Geneva it is their common practice, whenever they remove a minister from one church to another, to give him a new and solemn ordination by imposition of hands and prayer. This we learn from an Epistle of the Pastors of Geneva to those of Berne, which is among Calvin's Epistles; where, speaking of one Camperel, a minister of Geneva, who was translated to a country-parish, they say [10], 'he suffered himself to be ordained there by our brother Calvin.....and we do not think that to be a childish pageantry, when a minister is assigned to any church by a solemn rite, with public invocation of the name of God.' Now if it be lawful, by the rules of the Church of Geneva, for a minister to receive a new solemn ordination, when

[10] Ep. ad Pastor. Bernens. (Oper. t. 9. p. 264.) Passus est itaque se ordinari illic a fratre nostro Calvino... *Ludum* puerilem esse non putamus, quum solemni ritu addicitur uni ecclesiæ minister, cum publica nominis Dei invocatione.

he is translated from one church to another; why cannot men in England consent to receive a new ordination, when the law requires it, in order to settle themselves regularly in any church? especially when it is for the sake of peace and union, and to take off all manner of doubtfulness and scruples from the people. I dispute not now, whether their former ordinations were valid: it is certain, they are not more valid than those of Geneva; nor can they themselves think them more valid than the ministers of Geneva think theirs: wherefore, if it be lawful at Geneva for a minister to receive a new ordination because the laws require it, I do not see what can make it unlawful in England to submit to the same thing, in compliance with the law, when men have no other regular way to settle themselves in any cure; let their opinion of their former ordination be what it will, which comes not into the present dispute. For, even supposing their former ordination to be valid, I show, they may submit to a new ordination without sin: and if they will be peaceable they ought to do it, after the example of Geneva, rather than set up separate meetings, and preach against the will of their superiors, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church.

2. Whether the same thing be practised all over France that is at Geneva, I have not yet observed: but this we are certain of, which is more to the purpose, that generally the French ministers who come over into England, are ready to receive episcopal ordination, when they can have it. Which is an argument, that they are neither enemies to episcopal power and jurisdiction itself, nor think it contrary to the rules of their Church, or the rules of the Gospel, to receive a new ordination. And if those I am speaking to will prove to the world, that they are willing to imitate the practice, and walk by the rules of the French Church, they must imitate their ministers in this particular, as well as conform in all other points, wherein I have shown the agreement of the two Churches. They are here called upon once more to show their conformity, by imitating the practice of the French Church, where it is agreeable to the Church of England. And sure, they that are peaceable cannot refuse to do this, which is according to their own rule of reformation. To them, therefore, I address this discourse; not to men who are wholly governed by interest or passion, on whom

it is not likely to make any great impression, but to the reasonable and the peaceable, who, it is to be hoped, will take it into their most serious consideration.

III. My last address is to *those gentlemen of the French Church who are fled hither for sanctuary from the heat and fury of the late persecution.* What I have to say to them is, that as they regard the venerable authority of their own national Synods, and the avowed principles of that Church into which they were baptized; whose doctrine they profess, and by whose discipline they are willing to be governed: they should vigorously maintain and assert the cause of the Church of England against all that set up distinct communions, and unreasonably divide themselves from her. The French Church, it is certain, by her principles, is no friend to separation: all her sons, who may be supposed to understand her principles, must needs here join with me: therefore, if there be any who act otherwise, and either secretly or openly encourage separation, or any principles tending thereto, they must be concluded to act as much against the true interest and principles of their own Church as they do against the Church of England. I do not, in saying this, intend to accuse any, but only warn them against the force and subtlety of a dangerous temptation, which they may be liable to for want of a right apprehension of the principles and constitution of their own Church, or those of the Church of England. For some perhaps may think, that, because there are different rites and ceremonies used in the two Churches, that therefore their principles are different also; or that because the practice of dissenters in some things comes nearer the practice of the French Church than the practice of the Church of England does, that therefore the principles of the dissenters are the same with the French, and their communion rather to be chosen than that of the Church of England. If any are thus persuaded, I must take leave to tell them they understand not truly the principles of their own Church, and act directly against them. For it is one grand principle in the French Church, common to her with the Church of England, that every national Church has power to appoint what indifferent rites and ceremonies she judges proper, and expedient for her own edification; and that all the members of any such Church are bound in conscience quietly and

peaceably to submit to those her orders; and that they who raise contention about such things, and rather separate than comply with them, are guilty of a causeless separation. It is another principle naturally flowing from the former that different rites in distinct national Churches make no difference in the faith, nor ought to hinder the members of one Church from joining in communion with another; but that every one is bound to use the rites and ceremonies of that Church with which he communicates, though they be different from his own. A Frenchman is bound to receive the communion kneeling in the English Church, and an Englishman to receive it standing in the French Church, because these are the laws and customs of each communion. Thirdly, it is a further principle of the French Church, that they who separate causelessly from their own Church are not to be encouraged in their separation by the members of any other Church, nor to be received into their communion, till they have made satisfaction to their own Church. Now supposing all this to be true, it is impossible for any who are true members of the French Church, whilst they keep to their own principles, and act by their own rules, either to condemn the ceremonies of the English Church, or give any countenance to the present separation. For though some of our rites may differ from theirs, yet we are agreed in these common principles, which justify each other's rites, and prove it lawful, yea, necessary, to comply with the customs of either Church when we communicate with them: and they who separate from either Church upon the account of such things are justly condemned by the principles of both. So that the practice of our dissenters stands condemned by the principles of the French Church, even in those things in which they pretend to imitate her practice: because they act against those common principles of union which oblige all men to comply with the received laws and customs of their own Church, and not contend about foreign rites to cause divisions and needless separation.

When these things are truly weighed and considered by those of the French communion, they cannot but in justice to their own principles disclaim both the principles and practices of dissenters, and heartily espouse the cause of the Church of

England against the present separation. If any do not, it is either because they understand not their own principles, or else act upon particular interest, against the common interest and principles of their Church, for which they are liable to be censured by their own Discipline and Canons, and much more by their national Synods, if ever it should please God to restore them to the free use and exercise of their religion in their native soil again. There is this great reason to engage them to join heartily in communion with the Church of England whilst they sojourn here; because in so doing they keep steady to their own principles, observe their own discipline, and act by the rules of their national Synods, which teach them to comply with the laws of the national Church, wherever they dwell, and more especially the laws of the English Church, for which their Synods profess a most profound and deep veneration. By this means they will do honour to their own Church, and vindicate both her and their own reputation: they will do great service both to the Church of England and themselves at once, by being happy instruments of composing our most unhappy differences, and convincing those of the adverse party, that their separation is not grounded upon any principles or parallel practices of the French Church. To be thus instrumental in doing good, only by being true to their own principles and profession, as it is a just debt they owe to religion and their mother-church, so it cannot want its reward: since it is no less glorious and meritorious an act to lend an helping hand towards ending a schism in God's Church than it is to confess his truth in time of persecution. Thus they may close and unite both safely and honourably with the Church of England, upon their own principles, and never find cause to repent of being just and true to their own rules, whether they continue here or be restored by God's blessing to the land of their nativity again.

Whereas, on the contrary, if they unite with dissenters of any denomination, they must do it upon such principles as directly contradict their own; principles that are neither safe nor honourable nor lasting; that tend as much to destroy the constitution and well-being of the French Church as of the Church of England. If they close with the Independents, or

give any countenance to that way, they are already condemned by one of their own national Synods[11], which declares against the Independent principles as utterly pernicious, and destructive of all order and peace, both in Church and State. If they unite with the Presbyterians they must no longer maintain the principles of the French Church, which both allows the English diocesan episcopacy as consonant to the Word of God, and condemns all manner of separation from the English Church, whether upon the account of episcopacy or any other reason, as utterly sinful and unlawful. These principles cannot possibly consist with the present principles and practices of the English Presbyterians, who labour for the extirpation of episcopacy as a thing repugnant to the Word of God, and offer many other pleas to justify separation. So that, as all the members of the French Church regard their own principles, and reverence the authority of their national synods, and tender the welfare of their own constitution, they are obliged in honour, interest, and conscience, to distinguish themselves upon this occasion, and show their dislike of the present separation. Otherwise those very Synods, which now they esteem their glory, will only remain lasting monuments of their reproach; as authentic records and bodies of good laws are but registers of men's disgrace, when they confute their principles by their practice. I hope there are no French confessors in England who will not take care to avoid this censure, and have both the honesty and courage to own their principles here, as they have done elsewhere upon other occasions in the severest times of persecution. And then, if ever it shall please God to restore them to their ancient rights and privileges, they may return triumphant without blemish or reproach; having neither denied their faith, nor deserted their principles, nor cancelled their discipline, nor opened a way, by a bad example, for others in like manner to break in upon their establishment, and destroy the union of their Churches; which it has been the wisdom of their national Synods with so great care to maintain and preserve. They might then also return with episcopal dignity, if they pleased, more strictly united to us; and that perhaps might make way for a more general union of all Christians; 'which if it could be once accomplished,'

[11] The Synod of Charenton, 1644, cited in b. 1. ch. 1. p. 10. n. 7.

as one of their Synods words it[12], 'we should then be more considerable, and ministers might preach with more authority and greater success than ever.'

I pray God prosper all honest designs that are used to promote so glorious an end, and give every man grace to follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another!

[12] The Synod of Tonneins, 1614, ch. 18. art. 21. (Quick, v. 1. p. 437. A. v. 2. p. 62.)

The end of the French Church's Apology for the Church of England.

TWO SERMONS,

AND

TWO LETTERS

TO

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

[SIR JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, BART. FROM 1707 TO 1721.]

CONCERNING THE

NATURE AND NECESSITY OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF ABSOLUTION.

SHEWING

HOW FAR THAT NECESSITY EXTENDS, AND WHERE IT CEASES.

[These two Sermons were originally preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, and afterwards the former part of the first and the latter part of the second, as a Visitation-Sermon, at Bishop-Waltham, Hants, on Sept. 24, 1716, four years after the Author's collation to the Rectory of Havant by his bishop and patron, Sir Jonathan Trelawney. The Sermons in full, as well as the two Letters, written originally in 1713, were first published in the year 1720, at the end of the Eighth Volume of the original edition of the Antiquities, which contains the 'Account of the Discipline of the Ancient Church,' in the 17th, 18th, and 19th Book, the last treating of *Absolution*.

After much deliberation, I have deemed it best to place these Tracts in this Tenth Volume of this my new edition with the other *Opuscula*: first, because my Ancestor published them at the end of his Eighth Volume, of itself far from bulky, as his most convenient method of getting them before the public at that period; and, secondly, because they are not essential to the argument of the Nineteenth Book, though they belong to the subject, while their style is necessarily not in strict keeping with that of the greater Work. Ed.]

SERMON I.

JOHN xx. 23.

Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.

[1] [THOUGH the doctrine of ministerial absolution, or remission of sins, be a doctrine of great use in Christianity, as a matter wherein our practice is much concerned; yet I know not by what hard fate it has happened that there are few doctrines which have been more abused or less understood. The extravagancies of some on the one hand, who would have it almost to do every thing in Christianity, have made others think it could do nothing: as violent disputes usually beget great oppositions, and great oppositions commonly end in different extremes. It will not be amiss, therefore, to set this useful and necessary doctrine in its proper light, by discoursing of it in a practical way without any dispute, beginning with its original or first institution.

When our Saviour was about to leave the world he gave commission to his disciples to act in his name, as his ministers and vicegerents, in all things relating to the kingdom of God. This kingdom of God was founded chiefly upon the promise and prospect of pardon or remission of sins: and this pardon was to be dispensed and ascertained to men by the intervention of those whom he had appointed and commissioned for this very purpose. For this was part of their commission, to remit or to retain sins as they should judge proper, acting by the rules which he gave them; with a promise that what they did regularly in his Church on earth, should be ratified and confirmed by himself in heaven.

[1] [The portions between the brackets were used for the Visitation-Sermon at Waltham in 1716. ED.]

In general, therefore, it is evident beyond dispute, that Christ left a power in the hands of his ministers to retain or to forgive men's sins. But yet to have a more particular account and right apprehension of this, three inquiries will be necessary to be made further:—

I. Into the nature of this power as it belongs to man: for, notwithstanding the commission and authority granted to man, there is still a vast difference to be made between the power of forgiving sins, as exercised by God and as exercised by man.

II. We must inquire into the several acts or ways, in which the ministers of Christ are commissioned and authorized to exemplify this power.

III. How far all men are bound to submit to the lawful exercise of it.

From the resolution of which points we shall be able to reduce this consideration to practice, and easily discern what are the proper uses to be made of this doctrine of absolution, both as it relates to the ministers of Christ and his people.

I. I begin with the first inquiry, into *the nature of this power as it belongs to man.*

Where I observe, that notwithstanding the commission granted to man, there is still a vast difference to be made between the power of forgiving sins, as exercised by God and as exercised by man. For the power of God is absolute and sovereign in pardoning sins; his judgment unerring and infallible about the subjects who are capable of pardon; and, consequently, his sentence always exact and irreversible by any other power whatsoever. Whereas the power of man to forgive sins is not absolute, but only ministerial: his commission and authority is not only derivative, but tied up and bounded by certain rules, which are to be the measures of his proceedings in this grand affair with his fellow-creatures. Consequently his judgment is neither infallible nor his sentence irreversible, but only so far as he observes the rules prescribed by his sovereign Lord, who still reserves to himself the privilege of reviewing the determinations of the vicegerents and judges upon earth, and of judging over again their sentence by his final and unerring judgment. If the ministers of Christ, indeed, observe exactly the rules which he has prescribed in judging sinners and pardoning sin; if they neither, through

haste or partiality, or ignorance and error, condemn the guiltless, or absolve the guilty; then their sentence, whether it be of remitting or retaining sins, will be confirmed and ratified in heaven: because they act according to the tenour of their commission, and only as faithful stewards conforming to the measures and rules which their sovereign Lord has appointed them. But if they chance to deviate from those rules, either by ignorance of men's case, or the sly pretences of hypocritical sinners[2]; or by any neglect, or weakness, or assuming tyranny, or fond indulgence, or any other passion incident to human nature; in all such cases Christ, the supreme Lord, will judge things over again, and reverse their sentence, whether it be too rigorous or too indulgent: because they exceed their commission, and judge by other rules than what he has appointed them. This is that noted difference between the power of God and man in forgiving sins: the one does it by an absolute and independent authority; the other only by a subordinate and restrained commission, which is rather a declaration of God's will than any sovereign power invested in him. For no man can say to his brother, with the same authority and infallible assurance as Christ did to the thief upon the cross, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." This is the prerogative of God alone, to pardon sins with an absolute and uncontrollable power. And in this sense it is properly said in Scripture, that "none can forgive sins but God." And upon this foundation Athanasius and the generality of the ancient writers[3] always argued for the divinity of our Saviour against Arius, from this topic, 'that he took upon him to forgive sins with an absolute authority, which was the peculiar privilege of God alone.'

Yet this does not hinder but that man may have a ministe-

[2] Cyprian (Ep. 52. al. 55. ad Antonian. Ed. Amstel. 1700. p. 246.) to this purpose says, Neque enim præjudicamus Domino judicaturo, quo minus si pœnitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris invenerit, tunc ratum faciat quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum. Si vero nos aliquis pœnitentiæ simulatione deluserit; Deus, qui non deridetur, et qui cor hominis intuetur, de his quæ nos minus perspeximus, judicet, et servorum sententiam emendet.—In like manner Pacian, Ep. 1. ap. Bibl. Patr. Paris. 1654. t. 3. p. 53. (ap. Galland. t. 7. p. 259 b.) Reddet quidem ille rationem, si quid perperam fecerit, vel si corrupte et impie judicarit. Nec præjudicatur Deo, quo minus mali ædificatoris opera rescindat: interea si pia illa administratio est, adjutor Dei operum perseverat.

[3] See this fully proved, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 1. s. 1. [Of this edition of the whole Works, v. 7. pp. 171–174. Ed.]

rial part in the forgiveness of sins, in such acts as are by commission intrusted with him: and what those acts of his ministry are, I come now, in the next place, to consider by proceeding in order to the second inquiry, which was—

II. *What those special acts or ways are, in which the ministers of Christ are commissioned or authorized to exemplify this their power of retaining or remitting sins?*

Now these, upon an exact inquiry, appear to be these four acts of the ministry, whereby the benefit of absolution is ordinarily dispensed unto men:—

1. The power of administering the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper to all such as are qualified to receive them. Which is therefore called *sacramental absolution.*

2. The power of declaring or publishing the terms or conditions upon which the Gospel promises pardon and remission of sins, which is called the *declaratory absolution of the word and doctrine.*

3. The power of interceding with God for pardon of sins through the merits of Christ; which is *the absolution of prayer.*

4. The power of executing *church-discipline and censures upon delinquents;* which consists in excluding flagitious and scandalous sinners from the communion of the Church, and receiving penitents again into her communion, when they have given just evidences of a sincere repentance.

In these four acts regularly exercised consists the ministerial power of retaining or remitting sins, so far as the delegated authority of man can be concerned in it.

1. In the power of *administering the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper* to all such as were qualified to receive them.

Baptism is the grand absolution[4] of the Christian Church: for by it all men who are admitted as living members of Christ's mystical body, the Church, receive certain and universal remission of sins. Whence it had anciently the names[5] of *indulgence,* and *salvation,* and *remission of sins,* because these were the undoubted effects to all worthy receivers of it.

[4] See the sense of the Ancients upon this point, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 1. s. 2. v. 7. pp. 174–178.

[5] See the same, p. 175, and b. 11. ch. 1. s. 2. v. 4. p. 2.

Therefore, so far as the ministers of Christ are authorized to admit proselytes and converts into the Church by the sacrament of baptism, so far they are empowered to grant remission of sins; because they administer that, whose proper effect is the remission of sins, as it is the seal of God's covenant, and means of conveying all the spiritual blessings of Christ's death and passion to all those who come in the sincerity of their hearts with due qualifications to receive it.

Now it is certain the ministers of Christ are invested with a power, not only to administer this sacrament unto men, but also to judge by certain rules of probation who are proper and capable subjects of it; and, according as they find them qualified or unqualified by bringing them to the test of those rules, correspondently either to receive them or reject them from the privilege of baptism. Which is, in effect, to grant them or not grant them remission of sins; because it is to grant them or not grant them that ordinary means, which is made by Christ the seal of remission of sins.

The Ancients commonly found this power of remitting or retaining sins in baptism upon these very words of the text, and those other words of our Saviour to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." [Matth. 16, 19.] St. Cyril of Alexandria[6], expounding the words of the text, says, 'Spiritual men remit or retain sins two ways: 1. When they call those to baptism who are worthy of it, upon the account of a good life and approved faith; or forbid and repel those from the divine gift who are unworthy of it. 2. When they punish and correct the children of the Church for offending, and pardon them again upon their repentance.' St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose, having to deal with the Novatians, who denied the Church all manner of power to pardon sins after baptism, argue with them upon

[6] L. 12. in Ioan. 20, 23. (t. 4. p. 1101 d.) *Ἀφιᾶσι γε μὴν ἁμαρτίας, ἢ τοι κατέχουσιν οἱ πνευματοφόροι κατὰ δύο τρόπους, κατά γε διάνοιαν ἐμήν· ἢ γὰρ καλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα τοὺς, οἷς ἂν ἤδη καὶ τούτου τυχεῖν ὠφείλετο διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου σεμνότητα, καὶ τὸ δεδοκιμασμένον εἰς πίστιν, ἢ διακωλύουσί τινας, καὶ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἐξείργουσιν ἔτι οὔπω τέως γεγονότας ἀξίους· ἢ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἀφιᾶσί τε καὶ κρατοῦσιν ἁμαρτίας, ἐπιτιμῶντες μὲν ἁμαρτάνουσι τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις, μετανοοῦσι δὲ συγγινώσκοντες.*

this common principle acknowledged on both sides, that Christ gave his ministers power to remit sins by baptism. For the Novatians did not deny this; therefore St. Ambrose reduces them to an absurdity, with great acuteness, putting this question to them [7], 'Why do ye baptize, if sins cannot be remitted by the ministry of man? What is the difference, whether priests assume this power as given to them in the exercise of penance, or in the administration of baptism?'—plainly implying that the administration of baptism was one way of remitting sins. And it may be said with truth, that the Ancients were generally in these sentiments [8], and perhaps to a man concurring in this opinion, that the ministers of Christ are instrumental in remitting of sins by the administration of baptism.

It is true, indeed, this power of giving or refusing baptism to men, is not a mere arbitrary, absolute, or despotic power, authorizing the ministers of Christ to give or refuse it at their own mere pleasure; but, as we said, it is a ministerial power tying them to certain rules whereby they are to judge whether men be duly qualified for baptism or not; and, accordingly, obliging them to admit or reject them. They are to examine whether men sincerely perform the ordinary conditions required of all men that come to Christ's holy baptism; that is, whether they make profession of believing such necessary articles of the Christian faith as the Church has commonly summed up in her Creed; and whether they promise to renounce Satan and all his works; and whether they actually forsake his service by a manifest and plain conversion and turning unto God, engaging themselves by covenant to live in constant and perpetual obedience to all the laws of Christ. They who take upon them these professions, and actually perform these conditions, have a right to demand baptism; and the ministers of Christ are empowered and obliged to minister it to them; that is, to seal unto them the remission of their sins. But if they contumaciously refuse any one of these conditions; if they either will not make profession of the several articles of

[7] De Pœnitent. l. 1. c. 8. (t. 2. p. 400 b. n. 36.) Cur baptizatis, si per hominem peccata dimitti non licet? In baptismo utique remissio peccatorum omnium est. Quid interest, utrum per pœnitentiam, an per lavacrum, hoc jus sibi datum sacerdotes vindicent?

[8] See this proved, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 1. s. 2. v. 7. pp. 174–178.

the Christian faith; or not renounce their old master and promise universal obedience unto Christ; or continue in the open or avowed practice of any notorious vice and scandalous profession of life; then the ministers of Christ are equally empowered[8] to reject such men from baptism; that is, to retain their sins, by denying them the ordinary means of remission and forgiveness.

Thus far it is plain, even to a demonstration, that the ministers of Christ are invested with a power of retaining or remitting sins, as they are appointed by Christ to be the administrators of baptism, and subordinate judges of the fitness and qualifications of such persons as are to be admitted to it. For they who are intrusted with the ordinary administration of such a mystery as conveys or seals remission of sins to men, must be allowed to be the proper instruments of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting men's sins, whilst they are authorized to admit the worthy and reject the unworthy from the participation of such a mystery.

The case is the very same with respect to their power in administering the other sacrament of the Lord's supper. For that also is a means of conveying and sealing to men the remission of sins. It only differs from baptism in this: that baptism is the first grant of such a blessing, and the Lord's supper is a further confirmation of continuance and repetition of it. So that as ministers are empowered by virtue of being stewards of Christ's mysteries to admit the worthy to a participation of the eucharist, and debar the unworthy, or scandalous and profane livers, from the benefit of such communion; so far they are invested with power of remitting or retaining men's sins, as being proper judges of men's qualifications for the reception or non-reception of such a mystery, upon which, in the ordinary method and dispensation of God's grace, remission of sins is made to depend.

And herein consists the first act of the minister's power in remitting or retaining sins, by applying to men the sacraments

[8] The practice of the Primitive Church, in rejecting all such from baptism who refused any of these necessary conditions, is largely set forth by St. Austin, De Fide et Operibus, cc. 15, 17, 18, &c. (t. 6. pp. 178–184.) and both out of him and others, in Origin. Eccles. b. 11. ch. 5. s. 6. [v. 4. p. 85.] and ibid. ch. 7. s. 6. [p. 127.] and 8. [p. 131.]

of the Church, in the use of which remission of sins is granted to all worthy receivers.

2. The second act of this power is *the declaratory absolution of the word and doctrine*, which consists in publishing the terms and conditions upon which the Gospel promises pardon and remission of sins. This is either general or particular: the general absolution is such as our Church appoints every minister to pronounce after the general confession of sins in her daily service; where it is said, that 'God hath given power and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins;' by virtue of which power they declare, that 'God pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel.' This in effect is done whenever a minister publishes or preaches the terms of the Gospel to men, declaring in God's name upon what conditions remission of sins may be obtained; and the design of it is to excite and encourage all sinners to repent and turn to God in hopes of mercy, and to give consolation and comfort to all such as do actually and sincerely turn to him. For which reason the Church has thought fit to insert this into her public Offices, and give it a place in her daily Liturgy; which is a peculiar excellency and commendation of her service; the want whereof is lamented in some other Churches. For Calvin[9] declares, 'he was very desirous to have had such a general declaratory absolution inserted into the Geneva Liturgy, but could not prevail with his associates to introduce it.'

But, besides this generally declaratory absolution retained in our service, there is a more particular absolution appointed to be given to single persons in some special cases: that is, when men labour under troubles of mind and disquiet of con-

[9] Ep. ad Quæst. de Quibusdam Ecclesiæ Ritibus. (ap. Oper. t. 9. Epistolar. p. 206.) Confessioni publicæ adjungere insignem aliquam promissionem, quæ peccatores ad spem veniæ et reconciliationis erigat, nemo nostrum est, qui non agnoscat utilissimum esse. Atque ab initio hunc morem inducere volui: sed cum offensionem quidam ex novitate metuerent, nimium facilis fui ad cedendum: ita res omissa est. Nunc vero non esset opportunum, hic quidquam mutare: quia, antequam ad finem confessionis ventum fuerit, magna pars incipit surgere. Quo magis optamus, dum vobis integrum est, populum vestrum ad utrumque assuefieri.

science for any particular sins, which they make confession of to a minister, with proper signs of a genuine repentance. In that case the minister is authorized not only to give them ghostly counsel and advice, but also the benefit of absolution; that is, if upon a just examination of their case he judges them to be real penitents before God, then he may not only declare to them the general promises of pardon, but assure them in particular, that as far as he can judge of their case by the visible tokens and indications of their repentance, he esteems them absolved before God, and accordingly declares and pronounces to them their absolution. This is no infallible judgment indeed, because one man may deceive another by specious pretences of repentance, which are not always real: but yet it is as great an assurance as a prudent, sagacious, and pious minister of Christ can give to his fellow-creature for his satisfaction without particular inspiration.

And it must needs be of considerable weight and moment towards the satisfaction and comfort of an afflicted or a doubtful and desponding soul, to have the declaration of a skilful physician to rely upon; to have one, who by his office is qualified to be a proper judge in such cases, to pronounce his absolution.

Therefore our Church for the comfort of such penitent sinners has appointed the minister in two of her Offices, the Exhortation to the Communion and the Visitation of the Sick, to grant such a particular absolution, saying in one of them, 'By the authority of Jesus Christ committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy offences.' Which though it be not an absolute authority, yet it is such a declaration of God's will, as one man can make to another upon the nicest inquiry into his state and maturest consideration. It is like the priest's declaration under the Old Law concerning the leper, whether he was clean or unclean. His declaration or judgment concerning such an one is said [10] to be *the cleansing* or *polluting him; the making him clean* or *unclean;* though, strictly speaking, the priest did neither make him leprous nor not leprous, but only declare, upon a just examination and view,

[10] [See Levit. 13. 6 and 8. See the Hebrew and compare the Septuagint,—Καὶ καθαριεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς, —Καὶ μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς. Ed.]

whether he was so or not. In like manner St. Jerom, and the Master of the Sentences, and many others after them, have observed [11], 'that the ministers of the Gospel have that right and office, in remitting or retaining sins, which the legal priests had of old, under the Law, in curing of the lepers: they forgive sins or retain them, whilst they show and declare that they are forgiven or retained by God. And such a declaration, proceeding from the mouth of those who are constituted ministerial judges of particular men's repentance, is justly construed an evangelical absolution, sufficient to minister satisfaction and comfort to the penitent sinner.'

3. The third act of this ministerial power is *intercession with God for pardon of sins through the merits of Christ;* which is what the Church has always called *the absolution of prayer*, joined to the absolution of the word and sacraments. This always, either implicitly or expressly, accompanies the other acts of absolution [12] as a chief part of the minister's office, which is to intercede and pray to God for the sins of the people. The sacraments are sometimes administered in a precatory form, as is that of the eucharist in our Liturgy: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ ... preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life!' And so some tell us [13], that baptism now in the Greek Church is administered in the like manner and form by way of prayer: *Baptizetur servus Christi in nomine Patris, &c.! Let the servant of Christ be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!* And though our present form, 'I baptize thee,' differ a little from this, yet it is always accompanied with prayers, that God would release the party baptized of his sins, and grant him all the benefits of regeneration.

So it is observable, that immediately after the General declaratory Absolution in our Liturgy, the Church appoints the Lord's Prayer to be used, as that whereby we obtain a general discharge or remission of sins of daily incursion. And some of our Church's forms of absolution are plain and direct prayers for pardon and forgiveness: as that in the Com-

[11] See the testimonies of St. Jerom and Peter Lombard, related at length, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 6. v. 7. p. 196. n. 75. p. 200. nn. 76, 77.

[12] See ibid. ch. 1. s. 5. v. 7. p. 183. See also ch. 2. s. 4. pp. 192–197.

[13] Vid. Decretum Eugenii ad calc. C. Florent. (CC. t. 13. p. 535 d.)

munion-Office after the General Confession; where the rubric says, 'Then shall the priest or the bishop being present stand up, and, turning himself to the people pronounce this absolution; "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord!"' Here the declaratory absolution and the precatory are evidently joined together in the same prayer: for the prayer consists partly of a declaration of God's promises to pardon true penitent sinners; and partly of an intercession with God for actual pardon for those particular sinners, for whom the minister then makes his application and address to the Throne of Grace. And there are many other such forms of absolution throughout the Liturgy of our Church: nay, all the absolutions of the ancient Church, when penitents after excommunication and a long course of discipline were received into grace and favour again, were accompanied with imposition of hands and prayer [14], to denote that the ministerial benediction and intercession with God for sinners was a principal, though not the only act, of sacerdotal power in the business of evangelical absolution. And this was conformable to the rule of benediction given by Moses to the priests of the Old Law, (Numb. 6, 27,) "They shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them." It is God, properly speaking, that blesses and pardons: and yet when the priests intercede with God for these things, they are also said, in their way, to give blessing and absolution. All which fully evinces intercession and prayer to be one sort of ministerial absolution, as it is a means in the hand of man whereby God is pleased to derive and shower down the blessing of his absolution upon his people.

4. There is yet a fourth instance of this power of remitting and retaining sins, which is *the power of executing church-discipline and censures upon delinquents.* This consists in excluding flagitious and scandalous sinners from the commu-

[14] See this fully proved, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. . v. 7. pp. 192–197.

nion of the Church, and receiving penitents into communion again upon their submission and repentance. This is properly a judicial act: for as the ministers of Christ are judges of men's qualifications for their first admission into the Church by baptism, so are they judges of their qualifications for their continuance in the same; and as stewards of the mysteries of God, they are obliged to separate the precious from the vile, and distinguish the worthy receivers of those mysteries from the profaners and contemners of them. Holy things are not to be given unto dogs, neither are pearls to be cast before swine: and therefore when men debase themselves to those infamous and brutish characters, they have no longer a right to the privileges of Christian communion; but are to be lopped off as unsound branches, partly to avoid contagion and infection of the sound members, and partly to make the sinners themselves ashamed, and thereby bring them to reformation and amendment.

It is true, indeed, this power is not arbitrary in the ministers of Christ: they are not to use this severest of punishments for every jealousy and suspicion of evil; nor yet for every light and trivial offence, which may be cured by other remedies; nor for greater or more heinous crimes without previous admonition, and trial of other methods which Christ has appointed to be used for the reformation of sinners; nor yet upon whole bodies of men [15], where there is danger of "rooting up the wheat with the tares," and of doing more harm than good to the Church, by involving the innocent with the guilty; or by laying whole Churches under interdict, or occasioning great and dangerous schisms to the Church's manifest peril and destruction. For the design of this power and discipline is "for edification, and not for destruction;" to cleanse and purify the Church, but not to shock its very constitution, and raze and overturn its foundations by an indiscreet and intemperate zeal for the preservation of it. And therefore here, if ever, the ministerial power is to be exercised with the greatest wisdom and prudence, as well as charity and concern for the souls of men, and the good of the whole community.

[15] See the practice of the Primitive Church illustrated in all these cases, Origin. Eccles. b. 16. ch. 3. s. 6. &c. v. 6. pp. 146. seqq.

Of all which the ministers of Christ are constituted discretionary judges, invested with power to examine both men's faith and morals, and to exclude the scandalous and profane, and to re-admit the truly penitent upon their giving evident tokens of a real conversion, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. They are Christ's substitutes and vicegerents in his Church, binding and loosing, opening and shutting, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven: which so long as they use according to the rules prescribed them by Christ, their sentence, though only ministerial, is of great effect in the external communion of the Church at present, and will be found to be of force as a prejudging forerunner of the sentence of the last day. For under these limitations, and reserving a due prerogative to the infallible sovereignty of Christ, it cannot be doubted but that "whosesoever sins they retain, they are retained; and whosesoever sins they remit, they are remitted unto them."]

I should now have proceeded to the third inquiry, How far it is necessary for all men to submit to the ministerial exercise of this power in all the four several branches of it thus explained; and also have reduced this whole consideration to practice: but because the just examination of these things would exceed the limits of the present discourse, I shall only say these two things, by way of general remark, in the close of it:

1. That *the necessity of absolution in any kind is the same as the necessity of the thing by which it is wrought and ministered to us.* So that if there be any necessity of receiving the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, there is the same necessity of receiving the sacramental absolution, that is conveyed to us by and in the use of those holy mysteries. If there be any necessity of having the conditions of the Gospel and God's general promises of pardon declared to us, and applied to our souls; then there is an equal necessity of *a general declaratory absolution*, to excite our hopes, and invigorate our faith, and engage us to a true repentance and holy obedience. If there be any necessity for an afflicted soul, that labours under insuperable doubts and troubles of mind, to be relieved of her burden, and to be quietly settled in a state of comfort and satisfaction: then there is a like necessity of *a particular declaratory absolution*. If there be any necessity of the public

prayers of the Church to implore God's mercy for the remission of sins to public penitents, then there is the same necessity of *a precatory absolution.* And, finally, if there be any necessity for scandalous sinners, who are cast out of the Church, to be restored to the peace and communion of the Church again, in order to make their peace with God; then there is a necessity of *a judicial absolution.* So far as any of these offices and ministries are necessary in the Church, so far the several sorts of absolution that depend upon them must be concluded to be necessary likewise. And so far a respect is due to them as the ordinances of God: insomuch as that where they may be ordinarily had, they are not ordinarily to be omitted, much less to be despised or neglected; because that, in other words, is the same thing as contemning the sacraments of Christ, and public prayer, and preaching, and the discipline and censures of the Church, which are ordinances of God's own appointing.

2. The other thing I am to remark in the close of this discourse is, that *whatever necessity there be of an external absolution, yet there is still a greater necessity of the internal qualifications of men's own minds in order to receive it.* These qualifications are, a true faith, a true repentance, and new obedience of life; which are the Gospel-conditions required to make any human absolution effectual to our pardon. God may, and sometimes, where there is no contempt, does dispense with the want of the former, but he never dispenses with the latter: for "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." It is neither confession nor attrition, nor an external absolution of any kind, but only a sincere conversion that will qualify us for his pardon: and, therefore, as ever we expect to be absolved in heaven, we must prepare ourselves with those qualifications which alone can give us security at the day of judgment.

God of his mercy inspire us all with these most necessary qualifications, through the intercession and merits of the Great High Priest of our Profession, Jesus Christ, our Blessed Lord and Saviour! To whom, &c.

SERMON II.

JOHN XX. 23.

Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.

IN the former discourse upon these words, I proposed three inquiries to be made concerning the doctrine and exercise of ministerial absolution:—

I. To examine into *the nature of this power in general, as it belongs to man:* because, notwithstanding the commission and authority granted to man, there is still a vast difference to be made between the power of forgiving sins as exercised by God and as exercised by man.

II. To examine more particularly into *the nature of the several sorts of absolution as exercised by man.*

III. To inquire *how far all men are concerned to submit to the exercise of this power in the several branches of it.*

I have already discoursed of the two first, and now proceed to the third inquiry. In resolving of which it will be proper to consider the question distinctly, with respect to *the four several branches of ministerial absolution:* the absolution of the two sacraments; the declaratory absolution of the word and doctrine; the precatory absolution; and the judicial absolution of public discipline. Concerning all which it has already been observed in general, that so far as either the sacraments, or preaching of the word, or public prayer, or public discipline, are of any use and force in the Christian Church; so far the absolutions are to be embraced that attend any of these divine institutions. I shall now make a more particular inquiry into the necessity of each of them.

1. I begin with *the necessity of sacramental absolution.* Concerning which it must be asserted, that whatever necessity there is of receiving the sacrament of baptism or the Lord's

supper, appointed for all who have opportunity to receive them, there is the same necessity of receiving the sacramental absolution that depends upon them: because they are so intimately united and linked together, that they cannot be separated from each other; neither does God dispense with the want of sacramental absolution in any case, but where he dispenses with the want of the sacraments themselves. God can indeed, and often does, dispense with the want of the sacraments, and supply them by his extraordinary grace, where, either by the frowardness of his ministers, or their neglect, or some unforeseen accident or natural incapacity, there is no possibility of receiving them[16]: but men's own neglect or contempt of his ordinances will, doubtless, be imputed to them as a crime, for which they must expect to give account to the sovereign Author of these institutions at his great tribunal. So in the like cases, if men, through any unavoidable necessity, want the absolution which is exhibited in these two sacraments, God can supply this defect, and by his extraordinary grace grant them absolution in some other way: but if men are justly debarred by the ministers of God from the sacramental absolution or pardon of sins belonging to these sacraments, not by any necessity, but only for their own contumacy, in refusing to qualify themselves by the performance of such conditions as are required of worthy receivers; in this case the minister's act, in retaining their sins and refusing them this sacramental absolution, because he judges them apparently unqualified for it and unworthy of it, will doubtless be ratified and confirmed by Christ, as the supreme judge and asserter of his own authority, given unto men to retain sins, and deny absolution to those who are professed despisers and contemners of the conditions upon which he has offered it. And this plainly shows what necessity there is of absolution, as that signifies, in the first place, the absolution of the two sacraments which is to be granted to the worthy, and, as far as human judgment can go, to no other but those that are worthy of it. Therefore men are to prepare for this absolution, for the same reasons that they are to prepare for the reception of either of the sacraments, which, in the ordinary methods and ways

[16] See the sense of the Ancients upon this point, Origin. Eccles. b. 10. ch. 2. ss. 20–23. v. 3. pp. 476–488.

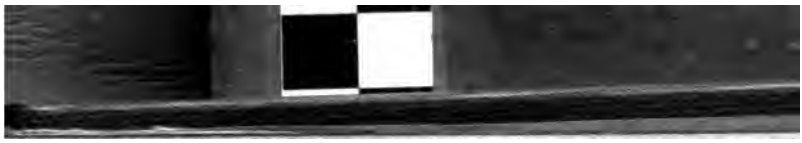
of dispensing God's grace, are made the necessary means of salvation.

2. In the next place, for *the declaratory absolution of the word and doctrine.* Whatever necessity there is of having the truth of God's promises operatively and effectively applied to men's souls, in order to work in them faith and hope, repentance and new obedience: that very necessity there is of this general declaratory absolution, either at first to create and excite, or afterwards to foment and cherish, these good qualities, upon which the pardon of sins depends. "Faith," we are told, "comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," [Rom, 10, 17.] And men do not ordinarily "hear without a preacher," nor ordinarily "preach, except they be sent," [ibid. v. 15.] Therefore, as it is necessary that men should believe and repent and obey the Gospel, so it is necessary they should hear the general declarations of pardon which God has made in his Gospel on the one hand, and the declarations of wrath revealed from heaven on the other hand, in order to engage them to comply with those terms upon which the Gospel makes the remission of sins to depend. And as the heralds of the Gospel are obliged to preach and declare the mind of God toward repenting and unrepenting sinners, so every man is concerned to hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously, as he expects to find favour and mercy of God at the day of judgment. This is the necessity and use of declaratory absolutions, both to beget and to support that faith which is the first spring and foundation of a Christian life. It is the word of God whereby "we are begotten to a lively hope through the Gospel." And we may reasonably suppose that faith will last no longer than the preaching of the Gospel does in the world. When Antichrist is come to his full height, and seated in the meridian of his kingdom; when, instead of Gospel-truth, he shall fill men with error by "signs and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness," [2 Thess. 2, 9 and 10,] then will be verified what our Saviour has predicted, "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" [Luke 18, 8.] It will be impossible to maintain faith generally among men without the constant declarations of the Gospel to support it: and that, if any thing, may convince us of the necessary use of a true Gospel-ministry, or such an order of men as have authority

and commission to declare the will of God, to keep the very faith itself from dwindling into nothing.

But I told you that besides the general declarations of the Gospel there was sometimes *a more particular declaratory absolution* necessary to relieve a distressed and wounded conscience, and extricate a desponding and doubtful sinner out of the fears and perplexing labyrinths of sin: and the very necessity of comfort to the feeble-minded, in such a case, is a sufficient argument of the necessity of such an absolution.

For whither should an anxious and afflicted soul betake herself, but to those whom God has appointed as proper helps and judges in the case? Whose office invests them with something of authority, and whose studies and experience qualify them to search and examine into the nature of spiritual diseases, and then judge of proper methods of cure, and apply suitable remedies to them. Should such a soul fly immediately and solely to God? That, indeed, would be very well, had she sufficient faith, and courage, and confidence, to approach him; but he is the person whom she has offended; and now she thinks of nothing but his wrath and indignation. Should she betake herself to the Son of God, the great intercessor and mediator between God and man? All would be right in this case too, could she come with full assurance of faith to him as to a merciful and faithful high priest, who is both able and willing to save to the uttermost all that truly turn to him. But that is her great misfortune, and her very disease, that she dares not come now so "boldly to the throne of grace, to find help in time of need:" or, if she does come even with prayers and tears to Christ, she is afraid they will not be accepted; because she can now hardly look upon him as her Saviour, but as her offended Judge. She is overwhelmed and confounded with her own ingratitude, to think that she was once, like an angel of light, pure and immaculate in the blood of Christ; but now she has deserted her station, and is fallen from grace. She was "once enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and was made partaker of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come:" but now she is "fallen away, and has crucified to herself the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." She has "trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the



ood of the covenant, wherewith she was sanctified, an unholy ing, and has done despite to the Spirit of grace," [Hebr. 6, —6, 10, 29.] And how shall she make her addresses to hrist, whom she has thus shamefully abused?

What then? shall she call in the assistance and counsel of ie holy angels? They are "ministering spirits, indeed, sent rth to minister to those who are heirs of salvation," [Hebr. 1, 4.] but their ministry is wholly spiritual and indiscernible; ey maintain now no visible intercourse with men. But she as need of some visible comforter, to whom she may lay open er grief, and take his advice in the midst of all her sorrows; nd this must be some of her visible fellow-creatures: and who) proper among these as those whom God himself has ppointed for this purpose? Private men may show their harity to such a languishing soul, as far as their knowledge nd their abilities will direct them: but yet, after all, there ay be a necessity of some further assistance. And whence ay that more reasonably be expected than from the mouths f those whose "lips should preserve knowledge;" whose udies are the Holy Scriptures; whose business is to explain iem to men; to solve their doubts, and take off their scruples;) examine their repentance, and compare it for them with the ile of God's Word; and chiefly to guard them against the iles of Satan, and teach them not to "wrest the Scripture to ieir own destruction."

For this is commonly the most difficult part in this whole ffair with such distressed souls, to fortify them against the ibtleties of Satan, who "transforms himself into an angel of ght," and teaches them to plead Scripture against themselves; aking that which was designed for their health and strength ecome to them an occasion of falling; and robbing them of ieir peace by that very instrument which was intended to ise their hopes and fix their consolation. Indeed, this is atan's masterpiece of temptation, to accost and tempt us in cripture dialect, and with the tongue of an angel: and he ever speaks more like himself, that is, more artfully subtle id diabolical, than when he speaks to us the language of eaven. Thus he tempted our Saviour himself by quoting cripture; by saying, "Thus and thus it is written." And hat wonder, then, that he should use the same weapon

against other men, who are less able to resist him? But the weaker men are, and the more they are liable to temptation, the greater necessity there is, in that case, that they should have recourse to some abler hand, who can give them both succour and direction; who can rightly apply the Word of God to their souls, and give them a right apprehension both of God and themselves; who can set every text of Scripture which Satan abuses in its proper light, and so baffle all his arguments, and countermine all his plots, by the same instrument that he abuses, with a design to beguile men and overthrow them.

It would be well indeed if all men could so dexterously use "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God," as that they might be able of themselves, like our Saviour in his temptation, to answer and repel all Satan's sophistry and false glosses upon the holy text by juster comments and more pertinent allegations. But if this cannot be expected from the weaker sort, it is necessary they should in such cases betake themselves for help to those that are more experienced, and have "their senses more exercised to discern between good and evil."

Common reason and interest direct men what to do when they are under any doubts or difficulties in all other concerns. He who doubts his title to a temporal estate, thinks himself obliged to consult an able lawyer, and take his advice and counsel: and in case of a bodily distemper, every man as readily betakes himself to a skilful and experienced physician: and there is the same reason in spiritual distempers to engage a man to consult a spiritual guide, who may be presumed to be as learned and skilful in his profession as either of the former: his office obliges him to a more general and exact study of the Scriptures; to be more expert and accurate in resolving cases of conscience, and more ready and prepared to answer all the objections, doubts, and scruples, that either the natural weakness of men's own fancies, or the subtlety of Satan throws in upon their minds. His business and employment is to understand the nature of God, and his religion, and his laws, and the extent of his mercy, and the terms of reconciliation to penitent sinners. He can therefore examine men's transgressions, and judge of their repentance and condition better than themselves. Besides all this, he is constituted by God to be

his minister here upon earth for these very purposes: not only in Christ's stead, to beseech them to be reconciled to God, and to show them the method of reconciliation, and to pray for them; but also upon an impartial view of their condition, if he finds them real penitents, to declare them absolved by God, and in his favour. His commission is to assure them that in spite of all that Satan can suggest to the contrary, there are no sins so great that God cannot pardon, provided they bring the condition of pardon, which is a true repentance: and he can judge, though not with an infallible judgment, yet with a moral certainty, whether their repentance be sincere and perfect, and give them directions to supply it where it is defective, and free them from all unreasonable scruples which are apt to discompose and trouble their souls. All which must needs be of extraordinary and sovereign use to persons in such a condition, and afford them the surest relief and the most solid comfort and satisfaction that can be expected without a particular revelation on this side heaven.

So that the use and advantage of spiritual guides in such a case, sufficiently discovers the reasonableness and necessity of making application to them, in order to obtain the benefit and comfort of a particular declaratory absolution.

And upon this account, our Church, though she lays no necessary injunction upon men to make a particular confession of their sins to her ministers in all cases, yet wisely requires them in this one special case of exigency to do it for their own benefit and satisfaction [17]: 'If there be any of you who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience, (viz. by confession to God alone,) but requireth further comfort and counsel, let him go to some discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.' This I take to be the true state of the case, as to what concerns the necessity of a particular confession and a particular declaratory absolution. It is not simply necessary for all men, but only for those whose

[17] [See, in the Book of Common Prayer, the last paragraph of the second formulary for giving warning of the celebration of the Holy Communion. Ed.]

condition is such that they cannot have peace and satisfaction without it: and therefore the Church of Rome is highly to blame, which imposes the absolute necessity of a particular confession and a particular absolution universally upon all men, in all cases of mortal sin, under pain of damnation. Our Church keeps closer to the rule of Scripture and the practice of the ancient Church [18], in making particular absolution only necessary to those to whom the necessity of the case itself makes it so. And so much for the necessary use of a general or particular declaratory absolution.

3. The next part of our inquiry is, concerning *the necessity of a precatory absolution:* and of this there is the same necessity that there is of the prayers of the Church for pardon of sins. We have observed before, that prayer usually accompanies all other sorts of absolution, and is an ingredient, and, as it were, the form of some of them. The sacraments are ordinarily administered with prayer; and prayer always immediately follows the declaration of God's will and intention to pardon penitent sinners in our public Liturgy; and prayer is the means commonly used to reconcile a scandalous offender, who for his crimes has been judicially cast out of the Church, and is now to be received again to peace and favour: so that as necessary as any of those absolutions are, so necessary is the absolution of prayer, that always so necessarily attends them. If it be necessary at first for a man to be released of his sins by the sacrament of baptism, it must be equally necessary for him to be admitted a member of Christ by the prayer which the administration of that sacrament either includes or supposes: if he would have absolution by the eucharist, he must receive it with that usual form of prayer which the Church has appointed to be used in the distribution of it. If he would have the general or particular declaration of God's will to pardon sinners made effectual to his own absolution, he must join with the minister interceding with God for the pardon of his offences. And if after any excommunication for any scandalous offence, he would be admitted formally into the communion of the Church again, he must implore God's mercy by

[18] See the practice of the Primitive Church in relation to auricular confession, Origin. Eccles. b. 18. ch. 3. ss. 1, seqq. v. 7. pp. 112, seqq.

the public ministry and prayer of his priests[19]; because that is the rite and ceremony of such an admission.

4. And hence it follows, in the last place, that when men are formally and judicially cast out of the Church by the power of the keys for any scandalous offences, there is *a necessity they should have as formal and judicial an absolution by an authentic relaxation of their bonds and censures,* to restore them again to the peace and privileges of church-communion. For if the excommunication be just, and according to the rules of Christ's Gospel, they must either sue for an absolution in the way that he has appointed, or else the bonds that are laid upon them will stand in full force against them, and their excommunication and expulsion from the Church on earth will exclude them from the kingdom of heaven.

I say, *if their excommunication be just and legally founded:* for it is one thing when men are unjustly cast out of the Church, and excommunicated without reason by the rash exercise of a mere tyrannical and arbitrary power; and quite another thing when they are legally censured for their impenitency, and obstinate persisting in flagrant and notorious crimes, to the scandal of the Church, and reproach of Christ's holy religion. In the former case, there is no danger to be feared from excommunication, because it is unjust: but, in the latter case, it is the most dreadful sentence that can be passed upon earth against man; because what is done upon earth will be ratified in heaven, and pursue a man unto the day of judgment, unless a timely and sincere repentance and reconciliation intervene to retract the sentence: which abundantly shows the necessity of this sort of absolution, and of all such things as are previous and necessary to obtain it. Men must truly repent of the crimes which have given the scandal; make humble and public confession of their sins before the Church; modestly submit to her discipline, and give evident tokens of their hearty sorrow for having offended God and man: and then, after such satisfaction made, to convince the Church of their true repentance by bringing forth fruits meet for it, they must sue to the same hands to admit them to communion, which, under Christ, were the instruments of taking it from them: and they, by the same authority wherewith they cast them out of the Church,

[19] See Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 4. v. 7. pp. 192–197.

will receive them again; making prayer and intercession to God for them, and declaring them absolved from the bonds they were under, and now fully restored to all the privileges of Christian communion. But without such a proper satisfaction as this, if men continue obstinate in their sins, in a careless impenitency, or contumacious neglect or contempt of the Church's censures, they may be assured that an account of these misdemeanours, added to all their other sins, will be required of them another day; when Christ will vindicate the authority of his ministers in all their just proceedings, and confirm their sentence by his unalterable approbation.

What allowances God will make for some men's weakness or ignorance in this affair, belongs not to us to determine. Neither would it be charitable in us, positively to condemn every man that dies excommunicate in *foro externo*, without an actual relaxation of his bonds, when he was truly penitent and desirous to be reconciled to the Church; but only some unforeseen accident and unavoidable exigency prevented the execution of his good intention. In this case the Church has generally accepted the will for the deed, and declared such to be virtually in her communion after death[20]; in like manner as they who die without baptism or the eucharist, not by any contempt, but by some pressing necessity, are charitably supposed to die in God's favour by virtue of their faith and repentance, because they do not despise God's ordinances, but heartily desire them. But the case is otherwise with men that live and die in contempt of the Church's discipline and censures: if such men perish, they may thank themselves for it; the Church has no power to absolve those who will not be absolved: if they suffer their sins to be "retained on earth," they will be "retained in heaven," and follow them to the day of judgment.

And so I have done with the third inquiry, How far all men are bound to submit to the lawful exercise of the ministerial power of retaining and remitting sin? or, What necessity there is of absolution in the several cases now before us?

[It now only remains, that we reduce this whole consideration to *practice*, and show what are *the proper uses of this doctrine*, both as it relates to the ministers of Christ and to his people.

[20] See ibid. s. 11. v. 7. pp. 209–211.

I. As to *the ministers of Christ*, there is no doctrine in the whole body of Christianity more forcible than this, to engage them either, first, to purity and holiness of life; or, secondly, to diligence in their studies and labours; or, thirdly, to fidelity in dispensing the mysteries of Christ, and care in their proceedings with penitent and impenitent sinners.

1. In the first place, the commission of power to ministers to retain and remit other men's sins, in whatever sense we take it, is a great engagement on them *to lead holy and pure lives themselves.* For it looks like an absurdity in practice, and is too often really thought so, that men should be qualified to forgive other men's sins, who are loaded with guilt and impurity themselves. There is nothing so natural and obvious as, "Physician, heal thyself:" and therefore, if it be not a real objection against their office, yet it is an unanswerable one against their persons. If it do not destroy the tenor of their commission in the nature of the thing, yet it certainly diminishes their authority and reputation in the opinion of men; when every profligate sinner can retort upon them, and say, "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? .... Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?" [Rom. 2, 21–23.] It must needs take off very much from the veneration of the sacrament of baptism, to have a man pretend to wash away the sins of others, who is himself polluted and profane: and equally diminish the reverence which is due to the tremendous mystery of the eucharist, to have it ministered with unholy hands. It cannot relish well with men, to hear an unsanctified mouth give blessings to others, who in effect is cursing himself; praying, that the blood of Christ may preserve others to eternal life, whilst he himself "is eating and drinking his own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body." But, above all, such a man cannot, with any tolerable decency or freedom, discharge the office of punishing and correcting others, who is himself more justly liable to rebuke and censure. With what face can he debar others from baptism or the eucharist, who is himself unqualified to receive either? Or exclude others from the Church, who is himself unworthy to enter into it? Nothing, therefore,

can be a greater engagement upon ministers to lead holy and pure lives, than the consideration of the commission which Christ has given them to retain or remit other men's sins, whether in *a sacramental way*, or *a declaratory way*, or *a precatory way*, or *a judicial way*: because without purity they can by no means answer the end of this office, and the nature of their trust; but their mal-administration will rise up in judgment against them and condemn them.

2. A second thing, which this office of retaining and remitting sins requires of ministers, is *great diligence in their studies and labours*, without which they can never be able sufficiently to discharge it. The Church indeed has made some part of this work tolerably easy, by a prudent provision of many proper general forms of absolution; such as the forms of administering the absolution of the two sacraments, and many general forms of declaratory and precatory absolution; to which in her wisdom she may add proper forms of excommunication and judicial absolution. But when this is done, there still remains a great deal more belonging to the full discharge of this office, for which the Church can make no particular provision; and therefore that must be left to the industry and diligence of ministers in their particular studies and labours. And this requires both a diffused knowledge and great application to be able to understand the nature of all God's laws, and the bounds and distinctions betwixt every virtue and vice; to be able to resolve all ordinary cases of conscience, and answer such doubts and scruples as are apt to arise in men's minds; to know the qualifications of particular men, and the nature, and degrees, and sincerity of their repentance, in order to give them a satisfactory answer to their demands, and grant or refuse them the several sorts of absolution as they shall think proper, upon an impartial view of their state and condition. He that thinks all this may be done without any great labour and study, and a diligent search of the Holy Scriptures, the rule and record of God's will, seems neither to understand the nature of his office, nor the needs of men; nor what it is to stand in the place of Christ, and judge for him between God and man. "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge;" and a man that considers the large extent of that knowledge, together with

the great variety of cases and persons to which he may have occasion to apply it, would rather be tempted to cry out with the Apostle, "Who is sufficient for these things?" And if this be not an argument to engage a man to industry in the office of a spiritual physician, it is hard to say what is so.

3. But as this consideration is an argument for purity and industry, so it is no less *an engagement to fidelity also.* "It is required in stewards," the Apostle tells us, "that a man be found faithful;" [1 Cor. 4, 2.] and more especially in those who are "stewards of the mysteries of God," because that is the greatest concern of any other. It was the argument of Moses to temporal judges, "Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, for the judgment is God's." [Deut. 1, 17.] And the argument will hold much stronger in spiritual judgment, because the consequence of the decisions is of greater importance. Here, then, a just medium is always to be observed between flattery and an imperious stiffness and moroseness; between too great indulgence on the one hand and too great severity on the other. "The judgment is God's;" and therefore men are neither to be absolved nor condemned at the mere arbitrary will of the minister, but by the rules prescribed by the sovereign Lord. If men are either to be received into the Church or to be cast out of it, the only thing here to be regarded is their performance or non-performance of the conditions which the Gospel requires.

No true penitent is to be denied absolution in any kind; no impenitent person, for any favour or respect, to have the benefit of it. If men are qualified for baptism or the eucharist, it is not in the minister's power, properly speaking, to deny them the privilege of either. If they are utterly unqualified, it is not in his power to admit them to either, if he will be just to his commission and faithful to his trust. So neither can he, with an equitable judgment, declare the impenitent to be absolved, nor retain the sins of the penitent: for this is "slaying the souls that should not die; and saving the souls alive that should not live." It is "making the heart of the righteous sad, whom God has not made sad; and strengthening the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, by promising him life," as God complains of the false prophets by the prophet Ezekiel, chap.

13, 19—22. All this is a manifest abuse of the ministerial power, tending directly to discourage virtue, and encourage vice; and all such judgments God himself will reverse, and punish the mal-administration of his unfaithful stewards. For, as in all cases, so especially in this, "he that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord." [Prov. 17, 15.]

Nothing therefore is more necessary in the "stewards of the mysteries of God, than that they be found faithful;" giving to every man his proper portion,—peace to the righteous, and terror to the wicked: otherwise they are threatened to "have their portion with the hypocrites, where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth." 'It is a Pharisaical arrogance,' St. Jerom says[21], 'for a bishop or a priest, under pretence of having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to assume to himself the power of condemning the innocent or of absolving the guilty.' He that does so, abuses his commission, and must expect to give account to God of his illegal administration.

Thus we see what ties and obligations this doctrine lays upon the stewards of God, to be first, *holy;* secondly, *diligent;* thirdly, *faithful in their service.* Let us now see,—

II. What influence the same doctrine ought to have upon *all God's people.*

And here I shall not insist upon any personal respect that is due from them to ministers, as the messengers of God and ambassadors of Christ, but only as a religious regard is to be had to the several parts of the office with which they are intrusted. If God has made them the instruments of remission of sins by those four several ways of absolution; then, at least, it becomes every one to be careful that he do not, by any wilful neglect or contempt, deprive himself of any one of those methods of expiation.

If *baptism* be an ordinary means of remission of sins, and so necessary by divine command, that "unless a man," who has opportunity, "be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" [John 3, 5.] it highly concerns all men who are unbaptized to present themselves and their children to Christ's holy ordinance, that they may

[21] Comment. in Matth. 16. See the place at length, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 6. v. 7. p. 200. n. 76.

receive the promised remission of sins and spiritual regeneration. For though zealous martyrs and pious catechumens may be saved in an extraordinary way, yet that is not the condition of despisers.

Again, if *the eucharist* be another means of absolution, then it equally concerns men not to live in the manifest neglect or contempt of that holy ordinance, but to be as frequent as they can in the reception of it, lest they deprive themselves of the grace and pardon exhibited and sealed in that sacred institution.

If *the prayers of the Church* be likewise a further means of deriving God's blessing upon his people, that must be allowed to be an argument to engage men constantly to attend them: and every man should be glad to say, "We wait for thy lovingkindness, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple." [Psalm 48, 9.]

If *the declaratory absolution* be of any use and comfort to true penitents, that should make men strive to be among the first and foremost in God's service, and rather wait at the posts of his doors before the service begins than come dropping in afterwards, as if they were haled into God's presence, when they have lost both the benefit of their own confession and his absolution.

If *a particular declaratory absolution* be of any use and service to an afflicted conscience and a doubtful mind; that should engage those 'who cannot quiet their own conscience, but require further comfort or counsel, to have recourse to some discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open their grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word they may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of their conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness.'

Lastly, if it be necessary, that when men are excommunicated and cast out of the Church for any scandalous crimes, they should endeavour to reconcile themselves again to God and his Church, by obtaining *a judicial absolution;* that shows what reverence is due to church-discipline and censures that are justly past upon them; and that a wilful neglect and contempt of reconciliation in such a case may prove more fatal to them than they are apt to imagine; and in the just judgment of

Christ, confirming the sentence of his ministers, finally exclude them from the kingdom of heaven.

But when they have paid the greatest outward reverence imaginable to these ordinances, there is one thing still behind to make them effectual; which if it be wanting, all the absolutions in the world will avail them nothing: and that is, *the internal qualifications of their own hearts and souls by an unfeigned repentance and sincere obedience;* without which all the rest are but mere forms that cannot completely operate, whilst men put in bars and impediments against them. For all absolutions are conditional, and suppose repentance and obedience before they confer any real benefit on the sinner. The minister can only lend his mouth or his hand toward the external act of an absolution; but he cannot absolve internally, much less the unqualified sinner. Christ himself has assured us, that "unless men repent, they must inevitably perish;" [Luke 13. 3 and 5.] and that "unless they forgive men their trespasses, their heavenly Father will not forgive them their trespasses." [Matth. 6, 14.] Now it would be absurd to think after this, that a sinner who performs neither of these conditions should notwithstanding be pardoned by God, continuing impenitent still; and only because he chances surreptitiously to be loosed on earth by some error or fraud, that therefore he should be also most certainly loosed in heaven. This were to imagine one of the vainest things in the world, that Christ, to make his priests' words true, would make his own words false: as they must needs be, if any outward absolution, given by a fallible and mistaken man, could translate an impenitent sinner into the kingdom of heaven.

I say not this to lessen the reverence that is due to any of the forementioned sorts of absolution, but that the ordinances of God may have their proper effect upon us, whilst the outward and inward acts go together, to make up the perfect work of an absolution; and that Christ may not say to us at the last day, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone." [Matth. 23, 23.] He that despises an absolution of any kind which God has appointed despises indeed the ordinance of God: but he that receives it without repentance and obedience despises "the weightier things of the law," and only "strains at a gnat to swallow a camel." Let not

such a man think he shall receive any absolution from the Lord, who thus mangles his institution; who puts asunder what God has joined together; and dares to promise himself security, where God threatens only ruin and destruction. If we would be secure, we must use God's ordinances as he has appointed them; join the outward and the inward act together; let the repentance and obedience of our souls prepare the way for the ministry of his priests: and then "what sins they remit upon earth shall be remitted in heaven;" when Christ shall confirm the word of his servants by his irreversible sentence of absolution, saying, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." [Matth. 25, 34.] Which God grant unto us all, through the merits of the same Jesus Christ our Lord: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all honour and glory, world without end! Amen.]

A

LETTER

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

CONCERNING THE

NECESSITY OF ABSOLUTION;

SHOWING HOW FAR THAT NECESSITY EXTENDS, AND WHERE IT CEASES.

My Lord,

Having read your question about the indispensable necessity of absolution in all cases whatsoever, I could not but return this speedy answer to it, so far as the time would permit, from what occurred to my thoughts without any tedious inquiry; reserving the further improvement and confirmation of the things here suggested to a little more diligent search and consideration.

The question about absolution may respect either, I. That absolution which is given upon private or auricular confession: or, II. The general absolution that is given upon a general confession, as it is in our daily service: or, III. That absolution which is dispensed in the administration of the sacraments, which are indulgences in the true sense [22], and God's ordinances for obtaining absolution and remission of sins; or, IV. The absolution that is given by the relaxation of church-censures. Now the absolute and indispensable necessity of these several

[22] See the sacraments proved to be true indulgences and absolutions, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 1. ss. 2 and 3. v. 7. pp. 174–181.

sorts of absolution in all cases whatsoever, is what, I conceive, neither our Church nor the Primitive Church ever asserted; though some of them are of much greater necessity than others. For,

I. As to *the absolution that is given upon private or auricular confession:* that cannot be more necessary than the confession itself, which, except in some particular cases, is only matter of advice, rather than strict duty imposed upon all men under pain of damnation: as our Church, with the Primitive Church, defends against the Roman imposition and yoke laid upon men's consciences in this particular. I shall not trouble your lordship with any ancient testimonies upon this point, unless you please to require me to transcribe some, which may easily be done out of Chrysostom [23] and many others.

II. As to *a general absolution upon a general confession,* which is retained in our Liturgy, and is a defect in Calvin's, though it must be owned to be a very useful and edifying part and form of divine service, which Calvin [24] wished to have inserted into his Liturgy, but could not obtain it, yet we cannot say it is so necessary a part of divine service as that no Church can have absolution or remission of sins without such a form of absolution in her Liturgy. For this would be an unwarrantable condemnation of all Churches that want that particular form, though they otherwise supply it by preaching, which is the declaratory application of God's promises of pardon to his Church.

III. The necessity of *the absolution which is dispensed in the administration of the sacraments* is indeed the same as the necessity of the sacraments themselves. So far, therefore, as the one is necessary, so far the other is necessary likewise. But the necessity of the sacraments is not so absolute and indispensable as that God cannot, in many cases, where there is no contempt of his ordinances, save men without the external application of them by the hand of his ministers. For in the case of extreme necessity, where men desire baptism, but can-

[23] See the testimonies against the necessity of auricular confession, collected in Origin. Eccles. b. 18. ch. 3. ss. 1, 2, &c. v. 7. pp. 112–141.

[24] Ep. de Quibusdam Ecclesiæ Ritibus, p. 206. See before, the first Sermon on Absolution, n. 9, preceding.

not possibly have it, God supplies invisibly, by his Holy Spirit, what is wanting in the outward administration.

I believe there is not one ancient writer that has spoken upon this head, but has allowed of some exceptions in reference to the absolute necessity of baptism: particularly in two cases: first, in the case of martyrdom, which they call *second baptism*, and *baptism in men's own blood:* and secondly, in case of a true faith and conversion without martyrdom, when a catechumen was preparing for baptism, and desirous of it, but by some sudden accident was taken away before he had any opportunity to receive it. In these two cases they always maintained that the baptism of the Spirit might be had without the external washing of water.

Tertullian[25], speaking of martyrdom, calls it 'the Christian's second baptism,' and 'the baptism of blood, of which our Lord spake when he said, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," when he had been baptized before in water.' And he adds, 'This is that baptism which both compensates for the want of baptism, and restores it when men have lost the former benefit of it.'

Cyprian[26] has the like observation upon the catechumens, who were called to shed their blood for Christ before they could be baptized in water. 'We are not to imagine,' says he, 'that these men were deprived of the sacrament of baptism: for they were baptized with the most glorious and honourable baptism of their own blood, of which our Lord himself said, "I have another baptism to be baptized with."' And he proves that they who were thus baptized in blood are also

[25] De Bapt. c. 16. (p. 230 b.) Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet; de quo Dominus, *Habeo*, inquit, *baptismo tingi*, cum jam tinctus fuisset.... Hic est baptismus, qui lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat et perditum reddit.

[26] Ep. 73. ad Jubaian. Ed. Oxon. p. 208. (p. 312.) Sciant.. hujusmodi homines, suffragatores et fautores hæreticorum, catechumenos illos primo integram fidem et ecclesiæ unitatem tenere, et ad debellandum Diabolum de divinis castris cum plena et sincera Dei Patris et Christi et Spiritus Sancti cognitione procedere; deinde nec privari baptismi sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Dominus dicebat, *Habere se aliud baptisma baptizari*. Sanguine autem suo baptizatos, et passione sanctificatos consummari, et divinæ pollicitationis gratiam consequi, declarat in Evangelio idem Dominus, quando ad latronem, in ipsa passione credentem et confitentem, loquitur, et quod secum futurus sit in paradiso, pollicetur.

sanctified and perfected by their sufferings, and made partakers of the promises of God, from the declarations made by our Saviour in his Gospel, when he said to the thief upon the cross, who believed in him and confessed him, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise."

St. Austin [27] often mentions this argument of Cyprian, and improves it, to show that not only martyrdom may sometimes supply the room of baptism, but also a true faith and conversion, in case of absolute necessity, when a man has no opportunity to receive baptism. 'That martyrdom,' says he, 'may sometimes supply the place of baptism, is well argued by Cyprian from the example of the thief, to whom, though he was not baptized, it was said, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." Which argument I, considering over and over again, do find that not only martyrdom for the name of Christ may supply what is wanting in baptism, but also faith and a true conversion of heart, if, through straitness of time, there be no opportunity to celebrate the mystery of baptism. For neither was that thief crucified for the name of Christ, but for the deserts of his own crimes; neither did he suffer because he believed, but only believed whilst he was suffering. Therefore his case declares how far that saying of the Apostle avails without the visible sacrament of baptism, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." But then only this invisible operation is performed when baptism is excluded purely by the article of necessity, and not by any contempt of religion.' He argues in another place [28], from the same example of the

[27] De Bapt. l. 4. c. 22. (t. 9. p. 139 c.) Baptismi sane vicem aliquando implere passionem, de latrone illo, cui non baptizato dictum est, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*, non leve documentum idem beatus Cyprianus assumit: quod etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest. Neque enim latro ille pro nomine Christi crucifixus est, sed pro meritis facinorum suorum; nec, quia credidit, passus est, sed, dum patitur, credidit. Quantum itaque valeat etiam sine visibili sacramento baptismi, quod ait Apostolus, *Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem*, in illo latrone declaratum est. Sed tunc impletur invisibiliter, cum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.

[28] Quæst. 84. in Levit. t. 4. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 524 e.) Proinde colligitur invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis. . . . . Nec ta-

thief, 'that many are sanctified by the invisible grace without the visible sacraments: but yet the visible sacrament is not therefore to be contemned; because the contemner of it cannot by any means be sanctified by the invisible grace thereof.'

Hence it is evident that, according to St. Austin's doctrine, it is not the bare want of an external ordinance, whether sacramental absolution in the article of necessity when it cannot be had, but the contempt of it when it may be had, that is pernicious and destructive of salvation. For God is able to supply the invisible grace without the visible means, in such cases, to true believers.

And upon this ground St. Ambrose [29] comforts the surviving friends of the younger Valentinian, who was only a catechumen preparing for baptism, but suddenly slain by the treachery of Arbogastes before he could come to St. Ambrose to receive it. 'If any one,' says he, 'be troubled that the mysteries of baptism were not solemnized upon him, he may as well conclude that the martyrs are not crowned if they die whilst they are only catechumens. But if they be washed in their own blood, then this man also was washed by his piety and desire of baptism.'

So that in such cases of necessity baptism *in voto* is equivalent to actual baptism. God accepts the will for the deed when men do what they can do, and where it is not contempt of the sacrament, but some unavoidable exigency, that hinders their reception of it. Now, then, if in such cases the external ministry of baptism be not absolutely necessary, the external ministry of absolution cannot be necessary neither; for they are the very same act in this particular: and if God can save martyrs and believers without visible and external baptism, he can absolve them without visible and external absolution.

Abundance of authorities [30] might be added more, if there were occasion, in favour of this assertion.

IV. For *the absolution which is dispensed by the relax-*

men ideo sacramentum visibile contemnendum est; nam contemptor ejus invisibiliter sanctificari nullo modo potest.

[29] Orat. de Obit. Valentin. (t. 2. p. 1188 d. n. 53.) Si quia solemniter *non* sunt celebrata mysteria, hoc movet; ergo nec martyres, si catechumeni fuerint, coronantur. Quod si suo abluuntur sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.

[30] See more authorities of this kind, Origin. Eccles. b. 10. ch. 2. ss. 20 and 21. v. 3. pp. 476—483.

ation of the church-censures, though it be necessary to be sought after by true penitents in all ordinary cases, yet there are several exceptions in cases extraordinary, in which pardon may be had without a formal absolution. For what if a bishop, for unjust ends, or unworthy designs, refuse to absolve a true penitent, when he both gives true signs of repentance, and humbly desires absolution? Will there be no pardon in heaven for him, who is so unjustly and imperiously denied it on earth by men, who exceed their power, which is only given to edification, and not to destruction? Bellarmin[31] indeed says so: 'Forgiveness is denied to them, whom the priests will not forgive.' But this is carrying the priest's authority to an absolute sovereignty and arbitrary power, which has no foundation in Scripture or the ancient canons of the Church. For even Pope Gregory the Great could tell these men[32], 'that the bishop, in binding and loosing those under his charge, doth often follow the motions of his own will, and not the merits of the cause: in which case he deprives himself of this power of binding and loosing, who exercises the same according to his own will, and not according to the deserts of those that are subject to him;' that is, his unrighteous judgment is of no value; it is reversed and cancelled in the court of heaven.

The case here is the same as refusing baptism to those who are qualified for it and very desirous to receive it: the minister's unjust refusal, in that case, is a very great crime; but it will not prejudice the person that, by such default, is forced against his will, or the will of his parents, to die without it. As Hincmar[33], archbishop of Rheims, long ago observed, for the

[31] De Pœnitent. l. 3. c. 2. t. 2. p. 1287. (Ed. Colon. 1620. t. 3. p. 1130 a.) Proinde negatur remissio illis, quibus noluerint sacerdotes remittere.

[32] In Evangel. l. 2. hom. 26. n. 5. t. 3. p. 83. (t. 1. p. 1555. c. 10.) Sæpe in ligandis et solvendis subditis, suæ voluntatis motus, non autem causarum merita sequitur. Unde fit, ut hac ipsa ligandi et solvendi potestate se privet, qui hanc pro suis voluntatibus, et non pro subjectorum moribus exercet.

[33] Opuscul. 55. c. 48. (t. 2. p. 572.) .... Sicut in illo latrone, quod ex baptismi sacramento et communicatione corporis et sanguinis Christi defuerat, ... complevit Omnipotentis benignitas, quia non superbia, vel contemptu, sed necessitate defuerat; et sicut parvulis naturali, id est, alieno peccato, obnoxiis, aliorum, id est, patronorum, fides pro eis respondentium in baptismate fit ad salutem; ita parvulis, quibus baptismum denegari jussisti, parentum patronorum corde credentium, et pro parvulis suis fideli verbo baptisma expetentium, sed non im-

consolation of those in France whose children died without baptism, through the perverse obstinacy of Hincmar, bishop of Laon, who refused them baptism, when their parents and godfathers earnestly desired it. 'As the benignity of the Almighty,' says he, 'perfected in the thief upon the cross, what was wanting in the sacrament of baptism, and the communion of the body and blood of Christ, because it was wanting, not through pride or contempt, but by necessity; and as the faith of others, that is, of godfathers or sureties, answering for little children in baptism, is sufficient for the salvation of those who are born obnoxious to original (that is, other men's) sin; so the faith and earnest desire of parents or godfathers, who believe with the heart, and with the mouth desire baptism for their infants, who could not obtain it, because you ordered it to be denied them, shall be of advantage to those infants, by the gift of him whose Spirit is the author of regeneration, and who blows where he listeth.' Whence he concludes, in the case of church-censures, 'that if a penitent dies without absolution, only because the bishop, for his own will or any unjust cause, refuses to absolve him; the bishop's unjust judgment and obstinate refusal cannot prejudice the true penitent as to what concerns his salvation and absolution in the kingdom of heaven.'

2. But it may happen, that a man may not only desire absolution, but the minister also may be disposed and ready to grant it him; and yet, by some unavoidable accident the man may die without it. In this case the canons have determined that the want of absolution is no prejudice to his salvation: nor was he to be treated as an excommunicate person, but to be received into the communion of the Church, and to be commemorated among the faithful in the service of the Church, though he died without absolution. The fourth Council of Carthage [34] and the second of Vaison [35] are plain to this purpose [36].

These allegations plainly show what sort of necessity there is of absolution: that it is not the bare want of it, but the

petrantium, fides et fidelis postulatio prodesse potuerit, dono ejus, cujus Spiritus, quo regeneratio fit, ubi vult, spirat.

[34] C. 79. (t. 2. p. 1206 b.)
[35] C. 2. (t. 3. p. 1457 b.)
[36] See more of this, Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 11. v. 7. p. 209.

proud neglect or contempt of it, when men are under church-censures that makes it hurtful. But where there is no contempt or neglect, salvation may be had without it. And therefore a true penitent who submits to the Church's discipline can be in no danger; because, though he may chance to die without absolution, either through necessity, or the obstinate will of his superiors, yet he dies in no neglect or contempt of the Church; and consequently has no reason to doubt of God's absolution in heaven.

Your Lordship's observation concerning the form *Absolvo te*, is very just: it is but of a late date [37], a little before the time of Thomas Aquinas. The ancient forms were all either deprecatory or declaratory, or else consisted in the application of the sacraments of the Church. And the *Absolvo te* is to be reduced to some of the other forms, as the elder Schoolmen commonly reduce it: of all which I will endeavour to give your Lordship a more full account in my next, taking it for an honour that you are pleased to command any service of this kind from,

My Lord,

Your most dutiful and

obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

Winton, *Feb.* 17, 17$\frac{1}{3}$.

[37] See Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 4. v. 7. pp. 192 and 193.

A

SECOND LETTER

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

CONCERNING

THE NECESSITY OF ABSOLUTION, &c.

My Lord,

In addition to my last *upon the fourth sort of absolution*, which is *the relaxation of church-censures*, I have observed the opinion of Cyprian to be conformable to what I wrote before, that if penitents died in the time of their penance, before they could have the bishop's absolution, their salvation was not to be despaired of. For 'the divine mercy,' says he[37], 'is able to heal them: yet we ought not to be too hasty, nor do any thing inconsiderately or rashly; lest, if we over-hastily give the peace of the Church,' (that is, restore them to communion before their penance was completed), 'we thereby more grievously offend and provoke the divine indignation.' The case was this. Cyprian was now in exile, and some that had lapsed were very impatient to be restored to communion before his return; which he would not consent to, but ordered them to stay till he should return in peace: and then their cause should be examined before all the Church. If in the meantime they died whilst they were doing their penance, God's mercy was able to save them without a formal absolution, or reception into the external communion of the Church.' The learned

[37] Ep. 12. al. 17. Ed. Oxon. p. 39. (p. 196.) Quibus potens est divina misericordia medelam dare: properandum tamen non puto, nec incaute aliquid et festinanter gerendum; ne, dum temere pax usurpatur, divinæ indignationis offensa gravius provocetur.

Bishop Fell [38] gives the same exposition upon the place. 'Our author,' says he, 'rightly opposes the lapsers, who were so hasty to be restored, and stops their mouths with this consideration: that their salvation was not to be despaired of, though they chanced to die before their course of penance was ended.'

2. It may be observed further, that according to the discipline sometimes used in the ancient Church, some very gross and scandalous criminals were denied the communion and peace of the Church, even at the point of death: the design of which was not absolutely to exclude them from heaven; for they still exhorted such to repent and cast themselves on God's mercy, though they thought fit to exercise such severity and rigour toward them in debarring them wholly from the communion of the Church, to be an example and terror to others. There are no less than twenty canons in the Council of Eliberis [39] to this purpose, that if men were guilty of such or such crimes there specified, they should not be restored to communion—no, not at their last hour. The great Council of Sardica has a canon [40] of the like import, to repress some exorbitant usurpations of ambitious men. 'Such an one,' say they, 'shall not be admitted to lay-communion, even at his last hour.' Yet they exhorted all such to repent, and accordingly admitted them to a state of public and perpetual penance in the Church, at the same time that they denied them communion to the last, as we find in the letters of Pope Innocent the First, who says [41], 'the ancient custom was to admit such to penance, but to refuse them communion.' And so St. Ambrose [42] writing to a con-

[38] In l. c. Ed. Oxon. p. 39. (p. 196. n. 2.).... Recte auctor noster hoc sufflamen opponit lapsis, qui ad pacem festinarent, quod non de eorum salute conclamatum sit, quibus ante pœnitentiæ decursum mori contingeret.

[39] Cc. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75. See these canons produced at large, Origin. Eccles. b. 18. ch. 4. s. 4. v. 7. p. 152. nn. 71, seqq.

[40] C. 2. (t. 2. p. 628 e.).... Τοιοῦτον μηδὲ ἐν τῷ τέλει λαϊκῆς γοῦν ἀξιοῦσθαι κοινωνίας.

[41] Ep. 3. ad Exuperium, c. 2. (CC. ibid. p. 1255 c.) Nam consuetudo prior tenuit, ut concederetur eis pœnitentia, sed communio negaretur.

[42] Ad Virg. Laps. c. 8. (t. 2. p. 315 d. n. 38.) Inhære pœnitentiæ usque ad extremum vitæ, nec tibi præsumas ab humana die posse veniam dari: quia decipit te, qui hoc tibi polliceri voluerit. Quæ enim proprie in Dominum peccasti, ab ipso solo te convenit in die judicii expectare remedium.

secrated virgin who had sinned, bids her 'to continue in doing penance all her life, and not expect to be pardoned by human judgment: for she that had sinned immediately against the Lord, was to expect absolution from him alone in the day of judgment.'

St. Austin[43] makes the same observation upon such as relapsed into great crimes after they had once done public penance in the Church, 'that a second penance was not allowed them in the Church: yet if they turned to God, he would not forget his mercy and patience toward them.'

In all these cases therefore they thought pardon might be had from God, though no absolution was granted them in the Church.

Nor were even the Novatians so rigorous in this matter, as to assert that God could not pardon those sinners whom they refused to receive into communion, when they had once lapsed after baptism: for they encouraged them to repent, and hope for mercy from God, though they denied that the Church had any power to receive them. This appears from what Asclepiades, the Novatian bishop, said in his discourse with Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, as Socrates[44] relates it, 'that they dealt with their laity only as the Catholics sometimes did with their clergy, excluding them from communion unto death, and leaving their pardon only to God.' This account is given of the Novatians by Bishop Fell[45], Bishop Beveridge[46], Cardinal Bona[47], Albaspinæus[48], and others.

[43] Ep. 54. [al. 153. c. 3.] ad Macedon. (t. 2. p. 526 d.) Et quamvis eis in ecclesia locus humillimæ pœnitentiæ non concedatur; Deus tamen super eos suæ patientiæ non obliviscitur.—See more of this, Origin. Eccles. b. 18. ch. 4. s. 1. v. 7. pp. 141—145.

[44] L. 7. c. 25. (v. 2. p. 374. 40.) ... Ἐκτὸς, ἔφη, τοῦ ἐπιθῦσαι, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ κατὰ τὰς Γραφὰς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι πρὸς θάνατον, δι' ἃς ὑμεῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κληρικοὺς, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς ἀποκλείομεν, Θεῷ μόνῳ τὴν συγχώρησιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέποντες.

[45] Not. in Cyprian. Ep. 17. Ed. Oxon. p. 39. (p. 196. n. 2.) *Quibus potens est divina misericordia medelam dare.* In illa erant sententia etiam Montani et Novatiani sequaces, gravissimorum flagitiorum compertos, licet ab ecclesia veniam non obtineant, a Deo tamen posse obtinere.

[46] Not. in C. Nicæn. c. 8. (t. 2. Append. p. 66. corrige, 68.) Neque enim Novatiani ea, quæ iis vulgo adscribitur, opinione fuerunt, ut istis, qui lapsi sunt, aut graviora delicta admiserunt, nullam salutis a Domino consequendæ spem superesse existimarent. Namque ipsi eos ad pœnitentiam agendam sæpius hortari soliti fuerunt et admonere, ut se colligerent, et divinam indulgentiam supplices implorarent. Sed hoc tantum iis persuasum erat et prædicatum, in ecclesiæ potestate

Whence it is evident, that though men might be denied absolution on earth, either for discipline's sake, as it was sometimes in the Church; or out of an erroneous opinion that the Church had no power to receive sinners lapsing after baptism, as it was among the Novatians; yet if they truly repented, they might notwithstanding, by God's mercy, be received to pardon and absolution in heaven. All these cases do evidently show it, according to the sense of the ancient Church.

As to the form, *Absolvo te,* it is agreed by learned men that it was not known in the practice of the Church till a little before the time of Thomas Aquinas, who was one of the first that wrote in defence of it, about the year 1250, against another doctor who maintained that the ancient form of absolution in the Church was not this indicative form, but an impetratory form by way of prayer, deprecation, or benediction; viz. *Absolutionem et remissionem tribuat tibi Omnipotens Deus! Almighty God grant thee absolution and forgiveness!* This doctor alleged the authority of Gulielmus Altissiodorensis [49], Gulielmus Parisiensis [50], and Hugo Cardinalis [51]; and said it was not then above thirty years since this new form began to be used. Thus much is collected out of Aquinas, *Opusculum* 22, *de Forma Absolutionis,* c. 5. But we have not that book of Thomas in our library here [52]; and, therefore, I only send

non situm esse, ut quosvis post baptismum, quod unicum pœnitentiæ genus statuerunt, delinquentes ad fidelium communionem admitteret.

[47] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 17. n. 3. (p. 213) Cum enim Novatiani perperam assercrent, non esse in ecclesia potestatem peccata post baptismum dimittendi, ... non quod simpliciter negarent lapsis pœnitentiam, &c.

[48] Observat. l. 2. c. 21. (ad calc. Optat. p. 78 b.) Quo autem minore negotio ex illis difficultatibus emergere possint, advertant oportet, Novatianorum errorem non in eo positum, quod dicerent neque lapsum neque excommunicatum in morte a peccatis liberandum: sed hæreticos ideo habitos, quod opinarentur Deum ipsum ecclesiæ neque remittendorum, neque retinendorum peccatorum capitalium potestatem copiamque fecisse: &c.

[49] [Or Antissiodorensis, according to Bellarmin, or Autissiodensis, which is the orthography of Labbe and Cossart in their edition of the Councils. He was bishop of Auxerre in France in 1240.

[50] Bishop of Paris, according to Cave, in 1228. One of his books was *De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ.* In the year 1240 Cave says of him, *Dogmata quorundam theologorum orthodoxæ fidei minus consona damnavit.* (Hist. Lit. Basil. 1745. t. 2. p. 292.) He died in 1249.

[51] Hugo de Sancto Caro, created a Cardinal by Pope Innocent IV. in 1244. Ed.]

[52] [At Winchester, where, for the sake of consulting the Cathedral Library more readily, my Ancestor

you what Morinus, among the Papists,—not to mention Bishop Usher [53] or any other Protestant writers,—has observed out of him concerning the original of this form, *Absolvo te.* Morinus [54] proves at large, out of all the ancient rituals and fathers, that the old forms of absolution were all by way of prayer. And it is evident from the ceremony of imposition of hands, which was always accompanied with prayer.

But our quarrel is not with the newness of this form, but with the abuses the Romish Church has affixed to it. For otherwise it may be lawfully used, as our Church appoints in the Office of Visitation of the Sick. But then this power of absolution is only ministerial, not authoritative properly, directly, and absolutely, as our writers commonly word it. It does not empower a priest to open and shut heaven at his pleasure; to absolve without a true contrition, by a sacramental act conferring grace *ex opere operato,* actively, immediately, and instrumentally effecting the grace of justification, as Bellarmin [55] would have it; who makes it also so necessary, that a man is denied forgiveness if the priest will not forgive him. It may be authoritative and judicial in a ministerial way, as all acts of the ministry are under God. A declarative absolution is so, and an impetratory absolution is so, and an applicatory absolution by the sacraments is so, and a relaxation of Church-censures is the same likewise. For all these are done by virtue of power and authority communicated by God to his ambassadors, as the ministers of reconciliation under him. Only in all these absolutions they must observe certain rules: which if they do not observe, their absolution avails nothing in the court of heaven.

Now this form, *Absolvo te,* is understood to be no other than the declaratory absolution upon a special and particular case; when a man having confessed his sins, and given signs

occupied for several years one of the prebendal houses in the Close, though not himself belonging to the Chapter. See the Life. For the passage of Aquinas referred to, see Antiquities, b. 19. ch. 2. s. 5. v. 7. p. 198. n. 72. Ed.]

[53] Answer to the Challenge, London, 1686. p. 89. (Works, Dublin, 1847. v. 3. p. 135.) Yet in the days of Thomas Aquinas, &c.

[54] De Pœnitent. l. 8. cc. 9, 10, seqq. (pp. 533, seqq.) Idem argumentum, &c.

[55] [I am not sure of the precise place in Bellarmin's books *De Pœnitentia* to which the Author refers. However, consult b. 1. ch. 16. Oper. Colon. Agripp. 1619. t. 3. pp. 1031, seqq. Ed.]

and indications of a true repentance, the minister declares to him, that as far as he can judge by the rule of God's Word his repentance is true; and therefore by virtue thereof he declares him absolved by God: but if there be any illusion or deceit in the man's heart which no mortal can judge of, then, notwithstanding this favourable sentence and judgment of the priest, God will judge him over again, and rectify the error of the keys by his unerring judgment.

Peter Lombard[56] among the Schoolmen, following St. Jerom among the Ancients, gives this as the most probable sense of that kind of absolution. 'We can affirm with truth,' says he, 'and believe, that God alone remits and retains sins: and yet he has given the power of binding and loosing to the Church; but he binds and looses after one manner, and the Church after another. For he remits sin by himself alone, who cleanses the soul from inward pollution, and looses from the debt of eternal death. But he has not given this power to the priests, to whom yet he has given the power of binding and loosing; that is, of showing who are bound or loosed. Upon which account the Lord having first cured the leper by himself, afterwards sent him to the priests, by whose judgment he was to be declared clean. And having first raised Lazarus to life, he then presented him to his disciples, that they should loose him. For though a man be loosed before God, yet is he not accounted loosed in the face of the Church, but by the judgment of the priest. Therefore the evangelical priest in loosing and retaining sins, acts and judges after the same manner as the legal priest did heretofore in the case of those who were defiled with leprosy, which is the emblem of sin. Whence St.

[56] Sentent. l. 4. distinct. 18. p. 334. (fol. 371. vers.) Hoc sane dicere et sentire possumus, quod solus Deus dimittit peccata et retinet: et tamen ecclesiæ contulit potestatem ligandi et solvendi; sed aliter ipse solvit vel ligat, aliter ecclesia. Ipse enim per se tantum dimittit peccatum, qui et animam mundat ab interiori macula, et a debito æternæ mortis solvit.... Non autem hoc sacerdotibus concessit, quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi, id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos. Unde Dominus leprosum sanitati prius per se restituit, deinde ad sacerdotes misit, quorum judicio ostenderetur mundatus. Ita etiam Lazarum jam vivificatum obtulit discipulis solvendum. Quia etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per judicium sacerdotis. In solvendis ergo culpis vel retinendis ita operatur sacerdos evangelicus et judicat, sicut olim legalis in illis, qui contaminati erant lepra, quæ peccatum signat. Unde Hierony-

Jerom, commenting upon those words of our Lord to Peter,—"To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,"—says, 'Some not understanding this place assume to themselves something of the supercilious pride of the Pharisees, so as to imagine they have power to damn the innocent and save the guilty; whereas before God the only thing that is inquired into is the life of the criminals, and not the sentence of the priests.' In Leviticus the lepers are commanded to show themselves to the priests, whom they do not make leprous or clean, but only show who are clean or unclean. So here it is plainly declared that God does not always follow the judgment of the Church, which sometimes judges by surreption and ignorance; but God always judges according to truth. And in remitting or retaining sins the evangelical priests have the same right and office as the legal priests had of old under the law in curing the lepers. These, therefore, remit or retain sins, whilst they judge and declare them to be remitted or retained by God. For the priests put the name of the Lord upon the children of Israel; but he himself blessed them, as it is read in Numbers.'

The Master of the Sentences here cites St. Jerom but imperfectly, and therefore I shall recite his testimony more exactly in his own words: 'Some bishops and priests,' says he[57], 'not understanding that place, where our Lord says to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, &c.," assume to

mus, super Matth. [16.] ubi Dominus ait Petro, *Tibi dabo claves, &c.*, Hunc, inquit, locum quidam non intelligentes, aliquid sumunt de supercilio Pharisæorum, ut damnare se innoxios, vel salvare se putent noxios: cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. In Lævitico se ostendere sacerdotibus jubentur leprosi, quos illi non faciunt leprosos vel mundos, sed discernunt qui mundi vel immundi sunt. Ita et hic aperte ostenditur, quod non semper Deus sequitur ecclesiæ judicium, quæ per surreptionem et ignorantiam interdum judicat: Deus autem semper judicat secundum veritatem. Et in remittendis vel retinendis culpis id juris et officii habent evangelici sacerdotes, quod olim habebant legales sub lege in curandis leprosis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimissa a Deo vel retenta judicant et ostendunt. Ponunt enim sacerdotes nomen Domini super filios Israël, sed ipse benedixit, ut legitur in Numeris. [Vid. c. 6. v. 27. Ed.]

[57] In Matth. 16. (t. 7. p. 124 e.) Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel sol-

themselves something of the supercilious pride of the Pharisees, so as to imagine they have power to damn the innocent or absolve the guilty; whereas before God the only thing that is inquired into is the life of the criminals, and not the sentence of the priests. We read in Leviticus concerning the lepers, where they are commanded to show themselves to the priests, and if they have the leprosy, they are then made unclean by the priest: not that the priests make them leprous and unclean, but because they had the power of judging who were leprous or not leprous, and might discern who were clean or unclean. As, therefore, there the priest makes the leper clean or unclean, so here the bishop and presbyter binds or looses; not [making] them innocent or guilty: but according to the tenour of his office, when he hears the distinction of sins or sinners, he knows who is to be bound or who to be loosed.'

There seems to be something wanting in the grammar of those words, *non eos, qui insontes sunt vel noxii*, and to make it coherent with what goes before, the word *faciens*, or the like, seems needful to be supplied. But all the rest is very plain, that as the priests of old did not properly make a man leprous or clean, but only declare whether he were so or not; so the priests of the New Testament bind or loose men from their sins, by declaring who are to be bound or loosed.

Bishop Fell, indeed, has a more singular notion of the form, *Absolvo te*: he supposes[58], that in every crime there are two

vere se noxios arbitrentur; quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur, ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant: non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos; sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi, et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus, quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos, qui insontes sunt vel noxii; sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus.

[58] Not. in Cyprian. de Lapsis. Ed. Oxon. p. 136. (p. 97. n. 1.) Notari autem poterit, in omni delicto duo spectanda occurrere, primo offensam adversus Deum, de qua David, (Psalm. 51.) *In te, in te solum peccavi*, in cujus remedium precibus et resipiscentia unice proficitur; juxta illud D. Petri, (Act. 8, 22.) ad Simonem Magum, *Pœnitentiam age ab hac nequitia tua, et roga Deum*: secundo intervenire offensam adversus fratres, de qua D. Paulus (1 Cor. 8, 12.) *Peccantes in fratres, et percutientes conscientiam eorum, &c.* Cui amoliendæ venia ab ecclesia ceu parte læsa, et illius nomine ab episcopo, qui eidem præest, omnino expetenda est, juxta illud Apostoli, (2 Cor. 2, 10.) *Cui autem aliquid donastis, et ego: nam et ego quod do-*

things to be considered, viz. The offence against God, and the offence against the Church: the former of which is forgiven by God alone upon men's prayers and repentance; but the latter by this authoritative form, *I absolve thee.*

But this, though it may be true with respect to crimes that fall under public discipline, cannot well be the meaning of the form as it is used in our Liturgy, in the Office of the Visitation of the Sick, which is the only place, as I remember, where our Church appoints it to be used. For in private sins there is no offence given to the Church, and yet it is private sins, confessed privately to a minister, for which that rubric orders absolution to be given in this form, *Absolvo te.* So that though his interpretation may be good in reference to the Church's public absolution[59] for public and scandalous crimes, which give offence to the Church; yet I think it cannot hold with respect to private crimes, because there no offence is given. Therefore it seems better to resolve it, as St. Jerom and Peter Lombard do, into a declarative form, and explain it by the example of the legal priests cleansing the leper, by declaring him to be clean.

I have now sent your Lordship all that I have observed material in this dispute: but if there be any thing omitted or deficient that you desire should be further considered, your Lordship cannot more readily command than I shall be ready to obey with the greatest pleasure, who am,

My Lord,

Your most dutiful and

obedient Servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

Winton, *Feb.* 24, 17$\frac{1}{2}$$\frac{3}{4}$.

navi, si quid donavi, propter vos in persona Christi. Et quidem quantum ad forum exterius, sive offensam adversus fratres, locum fortassis habere poterit illa auctoritativa, quæ in Occidentali ecclesia invaluit formula, qua et usus fuisse videtur Zephyrinus Tertulliani sæculo: *Ego mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia defunctis dimitto, &c.*

[59] See Origin. Eccles. b. 19. ch. 2. s. 6. v. 7. p. 201.

A SERMON

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY,

PREACHED AT

ST. MARY'S CHURCH,

BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

ON THE

28th OCTOBER, 1695,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

THEN FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

MONITUM.

THE following Preface by my learned Ancestor, now printed from the original manuscript in my possession, appears to have been written by him preparatory to an intended publication of the Sermon to which it refers. But that intention he did not carry into execution; probably from a desire not to keep alive or add acrimony to a spirit of controversy which had for some time been too prevalent. As, however, this and the following Sermon are evidently the result of deep research, and afford a very striking proof of the intimate knowledge of the doctrines of Antiquity, which the Author had acquired at a comparatively early age, having been, when he delivered them, only in his twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth years; and further, as there can be no danger that the publication of these Discourses will excite at this period any of those personal or angry feelings which my great Grandfather might perhaps have apprehended, I conceive it will be interesting, if not otherwise more importantly useful, to many studious and learned readers, to have an opportunity of perusing the statements and opinions, on abstruse and much controverted subjects of Theology, which were entertained by the Fathers and other earliest writers of the Church, as extracted from their authenticated writings, and discussed and commented on by the devout Author of the Antiquities of the Christian Church.

RICHARD BINGHAM THE ELDER,

[EDITOR OF THE REPRINT OF THE WHOLE WORKS, WITH SOME ADDITIONS IN THE OPUSCULA, LONDON, 1829.]

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

SERMON ON THE TRINITY.

It is to prevent all future calumnies and misrepresentations, which, with a little wit and a great deal of unchristian passion, I have experimented to be some men's best arguments, that I have published the following discourse. I hope it will, in some measure, do justice to the doctrine of Antiquity which it only defends, to its author, and to the ingenuous reader who will without prejudice peruse and consider it. That it may the better do all this, before I let the reader into the discourse itself, I will detain him a little with a short account of the true state of the present controversy; and tell him what was the occasion of preaching this discourse, and what the necessity of publishing it.

1. As to the state of the present controversy: the question betwixt the preacher, and those gentlemen who censured him, is not, what some might be apt to imagine from the late decree, Whether the Three Persons be three substances, as substance signifies nature and essence? or, Whether they be individual substances divided from one another, as human individuals are? Both these the preacher absolutely denies. But the question is, Whether the formal notion and definition of a person be not *an individual intelligent substance?* Whether the Fathers have not two notions of the term *substantia*,—the one signifying *common nature*, and the other *particular* or *individual substance?* and, Whether, according to those different notions of *substance*, they do not assert, that the Three Divine Persons are three individual substances in one sense, as well as one substance in another? The preacher pretends only to follow the doctrine of the primitive Fathers, and the judgment of Antiquity; and does not deny the Three Persons to be *unius substantiæ* or ὁμοουσίους, *of one substance* or *consub-*

stantial, in any sense that the primitive Fathers believed them to be so: but he asserts that the Schoolmen, since the time of the Council of Lateran [anno 1215] under Innocent III, have taken *one substance* in another sense than the Fathers did, and that has been the original of all the confusion. This is the true state of the question as proposed by the preacher: and it being a pure question of fact, whether the Fathers have used and allowed this twofold notion of *substance*, he thinks it ought only to be determined by producing ancient authorities, and not by the judgment of the Schoolmen, or Calvin, or any other modern authors.

2. Next for the occasion of preaching the sermon: it was not, as one[1] maliciously insinuates, that the author might ingratiate himself with the Dean of St. Paul's[2] or any other person. All that know the preacher's conversation will think otherwise of him; but it was purely to hint to others what he had satisfied himself was true. He had for sometime been consulting originals, which all men have not opportunity, or time, or will to do, and he was sorry to find the genuine sense of Antiquity violently run down, none interposing, though many be sensible of it, under the pretence of being Tritheism.

[1] The Author of the Preface to the History of Valentinus Gentilis. (p. 5.) That Tritheism therefore is in a thriving condition, &c. [Dr. South was the Author of the *Translation of the History of Valentinus Gentilis by Benedict Aretius, with a Preface by N. N. Lond.* 1696. 8*vo.*, which appeared in the early part of the year, following my Ancestor's sermon at St. Mary's. Aretius, however, eminent both as a divine and as a botanist, was born at Berne in Switzerland, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and eventually rose to great distinction, as a theological Professor at Marpurg, and as a preacher of the Reformed Faith. He died at Berne in 1574. Among other theological and controversial works was the book which Dr. South translated, entitled, *Valentini Gentilis capitis supplicio affecti Historia; contra ejusdem blasphemias Defensio Articuli de S. Trinitate; et Censura conclusionum, quod Baptismus non successerit Circumcisioni, contra Pædobaptistas.* Bernæ, 1604. fol. See also in Beza's Work *De Valentini Gentilis, teterrimi hæretici, perfidia et justo supplicio, ex variis auctoribus.* Genevæ, 1567. 4to. Ed.]

[2] [Dr. William Sherlock, father of Dr. Thomas Sherlock, who was bishop of Bangor in 1728, of Salisbury in 1734, and of London in 1748. This Dr. Sherlock, my learned Ancestor's sincere friend, was rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, London, 1669: after which he became successively Prebendary of St. Paul's, Master of the Temple, and Rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire. At the Revolution he refused to take the oaths, and was suspended accordingly; but he afterwards complied, and became Dean of St. Paul's in 1691, four years before the date of the delivery of this sermon at Oxford. Ed.]

Therefore having acquainted himself a little in the knowledge of this controversy by perusing and comparing the writings of ancient and modern authors; and having especially observed a different style and explication in the Fathers from that of the Schoolmen; and some propositions advanced by the latter contradicting those that were asserted by the former, which contradictions are proved in the Sermon; having further observed what he thinks very material, though not mentioned in the Sermon, that Luther and his followers had generally rejected the innovations of the Council of Lateran and the Schoolmen in this particular; and that many of them had asserted *three individual real substances* in opposition to *modes* and *relation*, as he from the Fathers did; that they accused some of the Calvinists of Sabellianism for defining *person* by a τρόπος ὑπάρξεως; and further having observed the Calvinists to be generally accused by learned men for their new doctrine of *Autotheanism*, and for following the Schoolmen's niceties more than the plain sense of the Council of Nice in their explications of this great article;—I say, having observed these and many other things relating to this controversy, he thought it his duty, having an opportunity to preach before the learned body of the University, to take notice of some of the principal innovations of the Schoolmen, and those modern authors, who, refining upon the Schoolmen's hypothesis, had tacitly and in effect charged Tritheism upon the Fathers. He found the Fathers wounded through Dr. Sherlock's sides; whilst he was condemned for saying many things[3] which the Fathers had said before him. He found

[3] [See his 'Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God, occasioned by the Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius and the Brief History of the Unitarians.' (Second Edition, London, 1691. 4to.) In reply to this Dr. South published anonymously his 'Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, entitled, *A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, &c.* (Second Edition with Additions. Lond. 1693. 4to.) Then followed, from the pen of another anonymous writer, 'A Letter to Dr. South upon occasion of a late Book entitled Animadversions, &c.' (Lond. 1693. 4to.) This was succeeded by a further pamphlet, of which Dr. South was also the Author, entitled, 'Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the Trinity, and the Charge made good; in answer to the Defence of the said Notion against the Animadversions, &c.' (Lond. 1695.) And in the same year there appeared from the pen of some other party the tract as follows: 'Reflexions on the good temper and fair dealing of the Animadverter upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Holy Tri-

the Fathers had made the terms, *person* and *individual intelligent substance*, convertible; and had maintained three such persons against Sabellius. He found *nature* and *substance*, *οὐσία* and *essentia*, always explained by such a nature as would admit of three distinct individuals. Lastly, he found all the arguments of the contrary hypothesis grounded upon one fundamental mistake, viz. that the Fathers by *ὁμοούσιος* and *una substantia* always understood a singular individual substance; whereas there is nothing more evident to those who look into the Fathers, than that by *ὁμοούσιος* and *una substantia* they mean *such a substance or essence as three numerical or individual substances may entirely partake of*: and three such individual substances or persons, not being essentially different, but all of one unalterable and immutable Divine Nature, they therefore called *one substance*, *nature* or *essence*, and in the same sense, *One Divinity*, or *One God*; adding some other sorts of unity which are summed up in the close of the Sermon.

These are the true and only reasons that engaged him in this undertaking. It was only to vindicate the genuine sense of Antiquity, viz. the true sense of *One Substance and Three Persons*, from the corruptions of the Schoolmen and the defenders of the innovation of the Lateran Council. Luther and his part of the Reformation had done the same before: and the Church of England, professing to follow the sense of the four first General Councils, might be presumed to defend *One Substance and Three Persons* in the true old sense too; since she had no where declared against it. And then it could be no innovation, much less heresy or Tritheism, to endeavour to reduce old words to their first and primitive signification. This and nothing else the reader will find to be the whole design of the following discourse. And that I presume with unprejudiced men will justify the undertaking.

3. The reason why it appears abroad now, and not before, is principally to confute the unjust calumnies of a nameless author [4], who writes Marginal Annotations upon the Life of

nity; with a Postscript concerning a late Book entitled, Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion, &c., in a Letter to a Friend,' (*Lond.* 1695. 4to.) Dr. South continued the war by issuing in 1696 his translation of Aretius's History, &c., as mentioned in note 1 preceding. Ed.]

[4] [Dr. South, at that time Canon

Valentinus Gentilis [5]. It is there [6] pretended more than once, that the Oxford Preacher, amongst the rest of the followers of Dr. [William] Sherlock, has condemned the Nicene Council, and cast away the usual terms of the Catholic Church, *ὁμοούσιος, οὐσία, hypostasis, una substantia,* and the like, introducing new ones in the room. Now allowing men may have a right to censure a doctrine, yet I hope no one will pretend to have a right to misrepresent and calumniate it. Yet this is such an egregious calumny as no one would have been guilty of but he that is resolved to undermine the defenders of the primitive faith by the same arts that the great enemy of mankind did its first professors. It is too usual with men who want better arguments to betake themselves to misrepresentations and blackening calumnies: that being the surest way to undermine the credit and reputation of any author or doctrine, to say something of them which will render them odious to the generality of mankind. *Fortiter calumniare, et aliquid adhærebit.*

But the greater any calumny is the more easily it is exposed, when it is once laid open. And there needs nothing more to lay open this calumny, but only to give every ingenuous reader an opportunity to see and judge of the Sermon itself, and what is therein asserted. If he finds me rejecting or quarrelling with any one of the ancient terms, I desire no more favour at his hands than I have had justice from the animadverting annotator. But if I have done nothing of this nature to give the least occasion for such a slander; but on the contrary have endeavoured to clear and vindicate the old words from novel and corrupted senses, and have put the true ancient *valor* and

of Christ Church, and Rector of Islip, near Oxford. Ed.]

[5] [John Valentine Gentilis was a native of Cosenza in the kingdom of Naples. He left his own country towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and retired to Geneva, where several Italian families had already formed a Church. There he became acquainted with Blandrate and John Paul Alciatus and others, who were beginning to subtilize with regard to the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Gentilis became a partizan of unsound and antiscriptural views of this doctrine. His whole history is given by Aretius, translated by Dr. South as above; and hence it will suffice here to say that eventually he was duly convicted of having obstinately and contrary to his own promises on oath attacked the mystery of the Trinity, and was condemned by the magistrates of Berne to be beheaded, which severe sentence was carried into execution in the summer of 1566. Ed.]

[6] Life of Valentinus Gentilis. (p. 24.) They condemned the Council of Nice, &c.—Ibid. (p. 43.) They are, says he, three eternal Spirits, &c.

signification on them; if I have put things in a fairer light by distinguishing the different senses of words, and showing how the Fathers said *three substances* and *one substance* without a contradiction; if I have made the doctrine intelligible, and shown the explication to be every way agreeable to the Council of Nice, and the expressions of the primitive Fathers, whose sense and doctrine I only undertake to defend; then I hope every candid reader will free this discourse from the unjust imputation which the annotator has endeavoured to fix upon it.

I do not here in the least reflect upon any one of those worthy gentlemen, who thought it their duty to censure the Sermon. I could have wished for their own sakes indeed, and the sake of the public, that they had done it a little more deliberately, and given me that month's time I desired; that I might have tendered my Sermon to them, and given them a sight of my reasons before they had censured me without hearing all that I had to say. And I could have wished also they had told the world, that I asserted *an indivisible unity of the Godhead*, as well as *three individual substances;* and further, should have been glad to have seen what notion they have of the Three Persons? what the definition of *a person* is? why the old definition of it, *rationalis naturæ individua substantia*, will not serve us as well as the primitive Fathers? why it must now be discarded, and those reckoned enemies to truth who only stand up for it? If we must not believe the Three Persons to be *individual substances*, they would have done well to have determined what they are, that at least others might have known what to have believed, as well as what not to have believed; since it is not a negative faith or a not-believing of errors, but a positive belief of truth, that makes a man an orthodox Christian: and now that the notion of *person* was come to be disputed, it was necessary to have determined κατασκευαστικῶς what *a person* was. But these things were left all to their own discretion, and I only modestly therefore touch upon them. I hope they will pardon me, if for the future I endeavour to do the truth and myself justice, and free both from the malicious calumnies of others; still always retaining a decent respect for their characters, and examining reasons without the least unbecoming reflections on *their* persons.

The only thing I design to examine, is, on which side the Fathers stand in this dispute: which is a thing I presume may be fairly done by producing testimonies without any heat or passion on either side, if men so please, or without any prejudice to religion. And when all is done, indifferent readers must be judges at the last; since this is a controversy that will not be decided by decrees, but only by authorities from the Fathers.

Therefore I must desire the reader to take particular notice of one thing more; viz. that what the publisher of the Life of Valentinus Gentilis has said further, with a malicious design to bring all the odium he could upon us, may be answered in one word,—that it is as impertinent as it is malicious, being it relates not at all to the present debate. For the question now is not, What Calvin and some of his followers have thought? (some, I say, for they are not all of his opinion,) but, What the Fathers have said upon the subject? If the Fathers prove at last to be of the preacher's opinion, Calvin's authority will weigh no more with any reasonable man in this case against Antiquity, than it does in the business of episcopacy; in which point we think we have just reason to dissent from him. Besides that many of the Lutherans, as I have hinted before, do explode both Calvin and the Schoolmen too, for following the error of the Council of Lateran in this very point. So that if modern authorities signify any thing in this debate, I can easily upon occasion set the one against the other. But when our inquiry is about Antiquity, all these authorities are foreign to the business in hand; and therefore to condemn the doctrine of *Three Individual Substances* and *One Substance*, which are always to be put together, though the decree did not do it;—I say, to condemn this doctrine from the authority of Calvin or the Senate of Berne, is just as if a man should prove the novelty of Arminianism from the Synod of Dort, or the antiquity of Transubstantiation from the Council of Trent.

Yet the reader may please to consider, that this is not said to vindicate the heresy of Valentinus Gentilis, who was certainly an Arian and a professed enemy to the Council of Nice; for which Council the Christian world justly preserves a perpetual veneration. But I must withal add, that the heresy of Gentilis did not consist 'in asserting the Three Persons to be *three single substances*, of the same nature, equal to one

another in all things:' for this I shall show hereafter to have been the true sense of the Council of Nice, and what Gentilis would never allow; who denied the equality of the Son, and made him a finite circumscriptible substance: adding many other heterodoxies and foolish absurdities, which were attended with many contradictions. I believe I shall be able to oblige the reader with a much clearer account of that heretic's opinions than has lately been done; but it is wholly impertinent to the present debate; and therefore I shall confine myself to the business of Antiquity and endeavour to clear that point first.

The arguments I shall add to the Sermon shall be proposed fairly, with honesty and integrity, and with what strength and clearness I can give them; and the more to recommend them, with that decency and temper, in a calm manner, as becomes a Christian disputant. So that if I do not satisfy all men with the strength of my arguments, yet I hope all the sober and rational part of mankind, though differing in opinion, will be satisfied with the manner of proposing them. If there be any loose unguarded expressions in the Sermon, being it was never designed for the press, had not some men's calumnies extorted it, I hope the reader will overlook them. To prevent further calumnies I was resolved to make no alterations, being pretty well assured, the substance of it will admit of no material objection to which I shall not be able to return a fair and solid answer.

I must tell the reader one thing further; that he will find some few additions here and there: but generally they are such as I had before prepared to speak, yet was forced to omit to bring myself within compass. All such additions are included within these marks [ ]: so that the Sermon as it was preached still remains entire; and every reader may judge of it for himself. I desire no other favour at his hands, but common justice and humanity; that he will think without prejudice, and judge without partiality; that he will read with the same temper I now endeavour to write, and pass no hasty censure before he has seen and considered the reasons that are offered him. If they be unsatisfactory, yet still I can say I meant well, and hope I deserve a candid ingenuous censure.

J. B.

[*Written* probably in the autumn of 1705 or the winter of 1706, after the resignation of his fellowship. Ed.]

A SERMON ON THE TRINITY.

1 JOHN v. 7.

There are Three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these Three are One.

THOUGH there be no article in our Creed more necessary to be known and understood, because none more necessary to be believed, than the doctrine of the Trinity; yet perhaps there is no one thing in the whole body of divinity we are generally less ashamed to own ourselves ignorant of than this most necessary article of religion. Most men are so possessed with a sense of its darkness and obscurity, that they avoid all inquiries of this nature, as utterly despairing of ever attaining any tolerable notion of it. But I wish this do not rather reflect upon the honour of our religion, as if it obliged us to believe something which no one will pretend to give a rational account of. If so, the oracles of God are as dark and unintelligible as the oracles of Apollo; and we must verify that ancient calumny, so often objected by the Heathens to the primitive Christians, but as often with scorn again by them rejected, Μὴ ἐξέταζε, ἀλλὰ πίστευσον, καὶ ἡ πίστις σου σώσει σε, as Origen gives it in the words of Celsus, *Never inquire, but believe, and your faith will save you.* Certainly faith presupposes a competent degree of knowledge, and knowledge a competent idea of the object to be known: else a man may be saved by a faith of words, without sense, and a confident belief of he knows not what. [This I presume shows us the

necessity of having some tolerable knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, though we can never attain to a full comprehension of it.] [1]

And yet after all it must be confessed that this article, according to some authors' explication of it, is one of the most obscure, unintelligible, not to say inconsistent, things in the world, and were this obscurity justly chargeable upon the doctrine itself, it were perhaps a very just and rational prejudice against it: it were enough at least to make us despair of ever giving either ourselves or others any tolerable satisfaction concerning it. But if this obscurity be wholly owing to a sect of men, whose business was to invent novelties and make new additions to old doctrines for General Councils afterwards to improve into articles of faith;—I say, if the Schoolmen, and their admirers since, who only drain their fountains, have spoken some things unintelligibly of this doctrine, and utterly inconsistent with themselves, we are not obliged to believe or follow them in all their usurpations. We may safely leave them where they have left Antiquity, and seek for a clearer notion from better expositors: and these certainly were the Fathers who wrote since the Council of Nice against the heresy of Arius.

It is manifest to any one, who will but be at the pains to compare the doctrine of the Fathers and Schoolmen together, that the latter have made a very great deviation in this particular from the former, and have advanced several propositions quite contradictory to the Fathers, whence it is no wonder that, mixing truth with error, they have spoken inconsistently with themselves and unintelligibly to their readers.

Some of their deviations will manifestly appear from what will be hereafter said: at present I shall only mention one relating to the notion of Three Persons, which I design to make the main subject of the following discourse. It is agreed both by Fathers and Schoolmen, that the notion of *person* is an *individual substance of a rational or intelligent nature*,—*rationalis naturæ individua substantia*, according to the

[1] [The angular brackets throughout the text of this Sermon are the Author's not the Editor's. See Preface, p. 360. Ed.]

definition given by Boëtius[2], who speaks the sense of the Fathers, and is not rejected by the Schoolmen. It is agreed further, at least in expression, that there are *three such persons in the Godhead, really distinct from one another*. Thus far they are agreed. [And one might reasonably now expect to hear, that, according to this notion and discourse, they should both agree further in asserting *three individual substances in the unity of the Godhead*. This is certainly the natural consequence of allowing three persons, whereof every one is an individual substance.] But herein they differ.

The Fathers, speaking consistently with themselves, and agreeably to their definition of the term *person*, say that in the same sense that there are three persons, and every one of those an individual substance, in that sense there are three distinct substances too, that is, three minds or spirits, in the unity of the Godhead. Yet in another sense they safely say, without a contradiction, that there is but one undivided substance in the Godhead, viz. by virtue of a community of nature, and inseparable union; as well as three individual substances by virtue of their real distinction. And this is no absurdity nor inconceivable thing: for three substances may be actually united into one, and yet remain distinct without confusion. Three angels or spirits, suppose they were united into one being, and that is no impossible supposition, would still be three distinct substances; though in another sense they might rationally be likewise said to be one individual substance, [by virtue of that common angelic nature of which they all partake,] or one undivided being by virtue of their actual union. In like manner, the Fathers tell us, three infinite and eternal beings, still remaining distinct without confusion, are in a more exquisite manner one: because their union is absolutely natural, necessary, and eternal; they are as necessarily three as one, and as necessarily one [by union] as three [by distinction, without separation or division]. And this notion of unity in trinity, given us by Antiquity, is, I conceive, a very rational and intelligible account of the Unity of the Divine

[2] [Or more correctly, Boëthius. Vid. int. Oper. (Basil. 1570. pp. 1119, seqq.) De Sancta Trinitate cum Gilberti Episc. Pictav., cognomento Porritæ, Commentariis.—See also n. 4, following. Ed.]

Nature in a Trinity of Persons: for by this we need neither confound the persons nor divide the substance.

But, on the other hand, the Schoolmen, though they allow *a person* to be *an individual substance*, and say that there are three such persons in the Godhead, yet they commonly deny three individual substances, in any sense: and assert that the Divine Nature is absolutely a single substance utterly exclusive of three; as the nature of a single angel is a simply individual substance: which is a manifest deviation from the doctrine of the Fathers, and is in effect to say that three persons are but one person; which, without a great deal of subtlety and nice unintelligible distinctions, will hardly be freed from a contradiction.

Others there are who have still refined upon the Schoolmen's notion and more corrupted the genuine sense of Antiquity, by introducing new and foreign senses of the term *person*, which were never heard of in the Catholic Church before. So that the very words are now become a matter of dispute and controversy, and almost as much a mystery as the very mystery they were designed to unfold.

In order therefore to contribute something towards the clearing this controversy, I shall propose these four things to be the subject of this and another discourse.

1. To consider the notions which some modern authors have given of the term *person*, and show how unfit it is in their sense to explain the distinction which both Scripture and Antiquity put betwixt Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

2. To show that the Fathers did believe the Three Persons to be three distinct individual substances in one sense, as well as one substance in another.

3. That this notion is most agreeable to the sense of Scripture.

4. That it is very consistent with any notion the Fathers had of the Unity of the Godhead.

And this I conceive will be a just exposition and intelligible account of the Apostle's words, "There are Three, &c.," but at present I can only despatch the two first.

And here I purposely omit all disputes concerning the original and authority of this text, as no way relating to the business in hand: since no one, with whom we are at present

concerned, can pretend to raise any scruple about it. And the learned Dr. Hammond[3] will give any man sufficient satisfaction concerning it; who shows that it was anciently read in the copies used by Cyprian and Tertullian, which was long before Arianism was ever set on foot in the world or dreamed of: and that the first corrupters of the text were the Arians themselves, as he proves from the testimonies of St. Ambrose and St. Jerom, who charge them with the erasing of it.

I omit likewise all direct proofs of the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, as a thing presupposed by all good Catholics, and no ways necessary to be insisted on in an inquiry of this nature, which takes it for granted that they are truly Divine, and upon that supposition proceeds to inquire, Whether, according to the representation made us in Scripture and Antiquity, it can be rationally conceived and understood that there are Three who are truly distinct from one another and yet truly One without a contradiction? That the thing is possible and conceivable is what I hope clearly to evince.

1. But first we are to consider the notions which some modern authors give of the term *person*, and show how unfit it is in their sense to explain the distinction of the Trinity.

Some Protestant authors, no doubt in their zeal for Christianity, thinking to confute their Socinian adversaries, and force them to own Three Persons in the Godhead, have forsaken the ancient ecclesiastical notion of the term *person*, and taken up with the antiquated and foreign sense of it; that, I mean, so much contended for by Laurentius Valla, in the Sixth Book of his Elegancies[4], as the only true Latin notion of it: in which acceptation it signifies, not *a substance*, but only *a mode, an office, an habitude* or *quality;* in which sense

[3] [Note on 1 Joh. 5, 6 and 7, where he defends the authority of the questioned text at great length; citing Cyprian, (De Unit. Eccles. juxt. Ed. Fell. Oxon. 1682. p. 109.) and Tertullian, (Adv. Praxeam, c. 31., where the text is not expresly cited, though apparently alluded to.) I am unable to verify Hammond's references to Ambrose and Jerome. The Indices of the Benedictine Edition of the one and of Vallarsius's Edition of the other take no notice whatever of this text. Ed.]

[4] C. 34. [c. 451. juxt. Ed. Ascens. (fol. 85.) where he combats the definition of Boëthius, viz. *Persona est incommutabilis naturæ individua substantia.* This Valla controverts, and contends that *persona* is equivalent to *qualitas*... Tales *qualitates* statuo in Deo, et has dico *personas*, quæ ab eo abesse non possunt.—See, afterwards, the same passage referred to in the Sermon on the Divinity of Christ, p. 403, n. 12. Ed.]

one and the same man (to go no further for an instance) may sustain no less than an hundred or a thousand persons: i. e. as many persons as there are different relations, circumstances, or capacities under which he may either act or be conceived.

Now it is true this is one very proper and ancient signification of the word *person* in the Latin tongue, and may very well be allowed in criticism; but it is to be feared it will not so well answer the end of religion, nor give us that true distinction, which the Scripture seems to put betwixt Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For according to this hypothesis the Father alone may sustain three persons, and the Son as many, and the Holy Ghost as many: and so instead of a Trinity we shall have an endless number of persons multiplied *in infinitum*. It is easy to conceive one single person to be three persons in this sense, which if we allow, it is as easy to tell what heresies have gained their point. This opens a way to those ancient heresies so often condemned by the Primitive Church under the names of Praxeas, Noëtus Samosatenus, and Sabellius. And this is not to confute the Socinian, but really to yield up the cause to him, who will not scruple here to join issue with us, and profess it in his creed, that he believes Three Persons in the Godhead, if we will once give it under our hands that by *person* we mean no more than this. [This, if I mistake not, is however the very thing which Sabellius of old contended for, and made the first article of his creed: i. e. taking *person* to signify *an individual* or *particular substance*, so there was but one single person in the Godhead, but *τρία πρόσωπα* and *tres personæ*. Let Sabellius have the interpretation of them himself to make them signify only *office*, or *mode*, or *quality*, and in this sense they were his own terms; and he could safely allow three persons or more in one single substance without any detriment to his own hypothesis.] And this I think is sufficient reason to discard this notion of the word *person* from the doctrine of the Trinity: because if closely followed and maintained, it must bring us at last to those very heresies which we most studiously design to avoid.

Another disallowable notion, taken from some of the Schoolmen and not much unlike the former, is, that the three persons are only *one single substance under three modes of subsisting*: i. e. that the same single individual Divine Substance is in the

Father as *quid ingenitum*, in the Son as *quid genitum*, in the Holy Ghost as *quid procedens*. These men take *substance* in the strictest sense of that word, as it signifies *a single substance* utterly exclusive of three in any sense.

But then this hypothesis is only words, that leave us more in the dark than we were before, and labours under very great absurdities: for to say that one single substance, in their sense of substance, subsists in three persons by three modes of subsisting, is what no man clearly understands. Besides that it makes the Persons only three modes, [at least two of them as distinct from the first must needs be mere modes,] and not *tres res subsistentes*; to deny which is Sabellianism, because it confounds the Persons into one. And further it will reduce us to this difficulty, and oblige us to say that the same single substance, or person, is both *genitum* and *ingenitum*, both Father and Son, which cannot be freed from a contradiction.

I know indeed this hypothesis is usually fathered upon the author of the *Expositio Fidei*, under the name of Justin Martyr: for the critics[5] are agreed that that treatise is none of his. That author says[6], 'that the Three Persons in the Trinity do not differ in nature, but only by three different τρόποι ὑπάρξεως, *or different modes of subsisting*;' hence some very illogically concluded that *person* and τρόπος ὑπάρξεως were synonymous terms; as if three persons were merely three abstracts, and not three things, as well as three modes of subsisting: whereas that author gives no countenance to such a wide conclusion; for his notion is quite different, but, as he explains it, very rational and intelligible. For he tells us, in the explication of it, 'that Adam and those that came of him (suppose Eve and Seth) do not differ in nature, but only by a different τρόπος ὑπάρξεως, by having that common nature three different ways. Adam, suppose, had his existence from God alone by immediate creation out of dust: and that was his τρόπος ὑπάρξεως: Eve had the same nature, but by a different mode of existing, and that was by being created out of the rib of man: and Seth had the very same nature, but by a different way from

[5] [See also the *Admonitio in Expositionem Rectæ Confessionis* of the Benedictine Editors, Paris, 1742. p. 417. Ed.]

[6] [Vid. ibid. juxt. Ed. Bened. n. 3. (p. 421 a.) ... Ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀγέννητον καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτὸν, οὐκ οὐσίας ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ τρόποι ὑπάρξεως· ὁ δὲ τρόπος ὑπάρξεως τοῖς ὀνόμασι χαρακτηρίζεται τούτοις. Ed.]

them both, viz. by being begotten, not created immediately by God as they were.'

This, though I have somewhat enlarged and paraphrased the words, is that author's notion of *τρόπος ὑπάρξεως*, common to him with many others; whence a man might as well conclude that Adam and Eve and Seth were three mere modes of the same single substance, as that the three Persons in the Trinity are only three modes of subsisting; for he says[6] the same of both. It is plain therefore that author meant by *nature, common nature*, of which several individual substances might partake; and by *persons, three such substances partaking of that common nature;* and by *τρόπος ὑπάρξεως, the different ways that three such beings might partake of one common nature:* so that in his sense he might rationally say the three Divine Persons, meaning three Divine individual Substances, did not differ in nature, but only by different *τρόποι ὑπάρξεως*, by partaking of that one common nature three different ways: the Father's *τρόπος* being *ἀγεννησία*, or *existing from none;* the Son's, *γέννησις*, as *receiving his being from the Father;* and the Holy Ghost's, *ἐκπόρευσις, as receiving being from both.*

This is a rational and intelligible account of Three Persons in One Nature, and agreeable to the sense of all the primitive Fathers; who took not *nature* for a single individual substance, but for a common nature or substance that might be contained without division in many particular individuals; so that they, who fix this notion *of three persons being merely three modes of subsisting without three substances that distinctly subsist* upon this author, do manifest injury both to him and all Antiquity; as I come now more particularly to prove, by proceeding

2. In the second place to show, that the Fathers by *three persons* always understand three distinct individual substances

[6] Pseudo-Just. Exposit. Fid. (p. 374 a.) *Ὡς γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ, καί τοι γέννησιν μὴ προσηκάμενος, τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθεῖσι κατὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ταὐτὸν εἰς κοινωνίαν συνάπτεται, οὕτως οὐδεὶς λόγος τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας [τοῦ] Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα διασπάσαι διὰ τὸ ἀγέννητον δυνήσεται.* h. e. As Adam, though he was himself unbegotten, yet partakes of the very same nature with those that are begotten of him, by an *identity or sameness of substance;* so the *community of substance* which is betwixt Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is not destroyed by the Father's being unbegotten.

really distinct from one another, though at the same time they believe them to be one substance in another sense, as shall be shown in its proper place.

But because this doctrine is very liable to be mistaken, I must here briefly premise two things, in order to state and settle a little more clearly the true notion of unity and distinction.

First, I desire it may be observed, that by *three distinct substances* the Fathers do not mean three of a different nature, but only three numerical substances agreeing in one common nature, which unity of nature is sufficient to denominate any three substances one nature, though not one individual being: for three men or three angels are, in their sense, but one nature, yet not one undivided being, because separated and divided from each other. Therefore it must be observed, further,

Secondly, that by *three distinct substances* they mean not three actually divided or separated from each other; but three, who by virtue of their infinity must be conceived most inseparably and eternally united into one, yet with distinction and without confusion.

Thus, in short, the Fathers reconciled their notion of a Trinity with the Unity of the Godhead, making the Three Persons what we call *specifically one by an unity of nature*, and *numerically one by an undivided union:* so that, according to their notion, something more is required than a bare specific unity to make three persons one being [as well as three]; and that is actual union without confusion, which is the closest unity three persons are capable of without being confounded into one.

Some other notions of unity will be considered, and those more fully explained in their proper place; but thus much was necessary to be premised at present, in order to prevent the heavy charge of Tritheism, which some have so liberally, but most unjustly, bestowed upon this hypothesis; thereby arraigning all Antiquity at once, and condemning the most genuine sense of all the best and primitive Fathers.

The proposition now to be shown I could make good with great variety of arguments: but they will not come within the compass of a sermon, therefore I shall content myself barely to

hint a few, and to insist upon one which I think will be an infallible argument against the Schoolmen.

Arg. 1. Now then, first, the very definition, which the Ancients give of *persona* and *hypostasis* does fully evince the thesis, for if one person be defined *rationalis naturæ individua substantia*, then three persons must be *rationalis naturæ tres individuæ substantiæ;* unless the Schoolmen can teach us to distinguish between the definition and the thing defined. [It is true the Schools retain this very definition, as well as the term *persona* itself; but every man sees it is utterly inconsistent with their hypothesis of an absolutely single substance, and therefore whilst the Fathers speak sense and reason, in allowing the Three Persons to be three substances in one sense as well as one substance only in another, the Schoolmen, who deny them to be three real substances in any sense, are justly charged with a contradiction.]

Arg. 2. The Fathers expressly say, that there are three substances in the Trinity, taking them for *individual substances agreeing in one common nature;* and they tell us further, that to say there is but one absolutely single substance in that sense, is heresy, and particularly the heresy of Sabellius. [There is nothing more certain than that the Greeks by *hypostasis* always mean substance, and not mere modes or qualities: sometimes it signifies substance or nature in general, the same with the known senses of *οὐσία* and *essentia;* but more commonly it is used by them for a particular substance or individual: and yet in this sense, it is well known they always said there were three hypostases against Sabellius, i. e. three distinct individual substances of the same common nature. In compliance with whom, the Latins, using the word *substantia* in the same sense, say against the same heretic, that there are three substances in the Trinity. St. Hilary[7] in particular asserts that they are *per substantiam tria;* and that there is *propria unius cujusque substantia.*] And upon this account they rejected the words *μονοούσιος* and *ταυτοούσιος*, and even

[7] De Synodis, &c. p. 227. Exposit. Eccles. Fidei. (t. 2. p. 479 c.) .. Hisque nominibus non simpliciter neque otiose propositis, sed significantibus diligenter propriam unius cujusque nominatorum substantiam et ordinem et gloriam, ut sint quidem per substantiam Tris, per consonantiam vero Unum.

ὁμοούσιος itself, whenever it was abused to signify *a particular substance.*

Arg. 3. They expressly tell us, that when they say the Three Divine Persons are of one nature and one substance, they then take *substance* in a larger sense for nature and essence in general, which never subsists but in particulars: so that by the Three Persons being ὁμοούσιοι they only mean that they are not ἑτεροούσιοι, *of a different nature from one another.* Thus they often explain themselves, when they distinguish betwixt οὐσία and hypothesis, as betwixt a general and particular substance.

And all this is pretty fairly owned by Estius [8] himself, who tells us, 'that when the Arians demanded of the Orthodox what the Three Persons were, they would not then say they were *tres res*, or *tres entes*, or *tria entia*, for fear of seeming to own with them that there were three distinct essences of a different nature and unequal to one another; but that at other times they made no scruple to assert that they were *tres res* and *tria entia.*' Now what are *tres res* and *tria entia* but *three individual substances*, unless they be mere modes and accidents? If substances, then immaterial; if immaterial, then rational and intelligent beings; if rational and intelligent, then three minds or spirits; unless there be any other intelligent substances besides minds or spirits. This deduction is clear and rational, and agreeable to the sense of all Antiquity; who, in their discourses of the Trinity, always distinguish betwixt *general* and *particular* substance; as carefully as philosophers do betwixt *substantia prima et secunda.* This is so fully demonstrated by Petavius [9], in his Fourth Book *De Trinitate*, that though his authorities could not prevail upon him to forsake the hypothesis of the Schools, [perhaps for reasons best known to himself,] yet they cannot but convince any impartial reader.

Arg. 4. The Fathers often tell us, that the Three Persons are united into One Being without confusion, which is a very inconceivable thing upon the hypothesis of one single substance, mind, or spirit; for whatever things are properly

[8] In Sentent. l. 1. distinct. 25. s. 3. (t. 1. p. 93 d, seqq.) Hæc duo vocabula Res et Ens, &c.

[9] De Trin. l. 4. c. 7. (ap. Dogmat. Theolog. Oper. t. 2. pp. 188, seqq. Venet. 1757.)

united must be substances really distinct from one another: for there is one proper union of one single substance with itself. Yet the Ancients looked upon this to be so proper an union, that they made use of it as a known instance to prove that the two natures in Christ, his Divinity and humanity, soul and body, were united without confusion: which would have been a very impertinent instance, had they believed the Three Persons to be only one single substance. Nay, it would have proved quite the contrary to what they designed, and the heretics might have retorted it upon them and have said, that as the Three Persons in the Trinity were but one single substance, so the two natures in Christ were but one single nature after union.

But I pass over these and the like arguments to insist upon one, which I conceive is an invincible argument (at least *ad hominem*) against the Schoolmen. The Fathers constantly assert, that the substance of the Son is begotten of the substance of the Father: but now the Schoolmen themselves tell us, that the consequence of this assertion is, that the Father and Son are two distinct substances, numerically distinct from one another, whence we may form this regular syllogism:—

Arg. 5. They, who assert that the substance or being of the Son is begotten of the substance of the Father, do thereby assert that the Persons in the Trinity are three distinct individual substances.

But the generality of the Fathers do assert, that the substance of the Son is begotten of the substance of the Father.

Therefore they believed the Three Persons to be three individual substances in the sense so often explained.

The first proposition of this syllogism is allowed us by Bellarmin, Estius, and generally all the Schoolmen, who are agreed in this, that the consequence of *Essentia in Divinis generat Essentiam* must be, that there are distinct individual essences or substances in the Trinity. Estius's words are these [10]: *Si essentia essentiam gigneret, fatendum esset in Deo esse plures numero essentias.* And Bellarmin to the same purpose [11]: '*Si essentia gignit et gignitur; ergo duæ*

[10] In Sentent. l. 1. distinct. 5. s. 2. (t. 1. p. 25 e.) Title of the chap.—Utrum Essentia Divina dicenda sit gignere vel gigni.

[11] De Christ. l. 2. c. 7. (Oper. t. 1. p. 331 a.) Si essentia, &c.

sunt essentiæ; nec enim intelligi potest unum et idem a seipso produci. If essence begets or is begotten, then there must be two numerical essences; else this great absurdity will follow, that one and the same thing must be produced by itself.'

[I do not now stand to take notice, that this great absurdity does certainly fall upon the Schoolmen by denying the distinct substances of the Persons, whilst they allow that the person of the Son is begotten of the person of the Father, but not his essence of his essence; which distinction of a person from his own proper peculiar essence is an airy notion, that might sufficiently be exposed: but I only observe what is to our present purpose, viz. that it is confessed by all the Schools, *that substance generating substance does imply numerically distinct substances.*]

And here Calvin likewise falls in with the Schools; for in his *Admonitio ad Fratres Polonos contra Blandratam*, amongst his Theological Tracts, he makes use of the same principle to prove his own heterodox notion of the Son's being Αὐτόθεος, *God of himself*, and not of the Father. 'If,' says he [12], 'the Father has his essence from himself, and the Son his essence from the Father, and the Holy Ghost from both, then there are three essences:' he means three individual substances or essences, only numerically distinct from one another; which he, as well as the Schoolmen, thinks absurd; but, however, they all agree in this, that it is the natural consequence of asserting that the Divine substance of the Son is begotten of the substance of the Father.

Therefore if the second proposition of the syllogism can be made good, that the Fathers do generally assert that the essence of the Son is begotten of the essence of the Father, it will infallibly follow, at least upon the Schoolmen's principles, that they likewise believed the Three Persons to be three individual substances or essences numerically distinct from one another, notwithstanding their belief of the indivisible unity of the Godhead. Now that they have asserted this in plain terms, may be fully evidenced from their own words: a few of which I shall therefore beg leave to produce.

[12] Admonit. et Ep. ad Fratr. Polon. (Oper. t. 8. p. 590.) Apertius dicam, si Pater suum esse habet a seipso, Filius suum esse habet a Patre, Spiritus ab utroque, an non tres essentiæ emergunt? &c.

Gregory Nazianzen, the famous bishop of Constantinople, was never suspected for favouring Arianism, or Tritheism, or any other heresy: and yet he expressly asserts, that the Father is the author and cause of the Deity that is in the Son and in the Holy Ghost. His words are[13], Ἀρχὴ καὶ αἴτιος τῆς Θεότητος τῆς ἐν Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι θεωρουμένης: where by *the Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost*, he cannot without great violence be understood to mean any thing else but the peculiar numerical substances of the Son and Holy Ghost, as distinct from that of the Father, which was the eternal cause of them both. So that, the Schoolmen themselves being judges, Gregory Nazianzen must be one of those who assert three numerical substances in the Trinity, agreeing in one common nature.

Next to Nazianzen I shall produce the testimony of another patriarch, the famous Cyril of Alexandria. He, in his first Dialogue *De Trinitate*[14], calls the Son τῆς ἀῤῥήτου φύσεως καρπὸς, *the fruit* or *natural offspring of the Father's ineffable nature*. [Here it is plain he evidently distinguishes betwixt the particular nature of the Father and the nature common to the whole Trinity, and asserts that the Son is the offspring of the Father's nature but not of the nature of the whole Trinity; for then he must have been the cause of himself and the Son of himself, which would be absurd and contradictory.]

The same he asserts more plainly in his excellent Book against the Arians, called his *Thesaurus*[15], where, amongst many other things, he has this remarkable expression, Ἐχρὴν εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν γεννήσασαν φύσιν καὶ τὴν γεννηθεῖσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς, *We must both know the nature that begets, and the nature that is begotten of that*; which is the direct contradictory to that assertion of the Schools, *Essentia non generat essentiam nec gignitur*. Hence therefore I likewise conclude, that Cyril of Alexandria was one of those who allow three particular substances in the Trinity united in one common nature.

[13] Orat. 29. (Ed. Paris. 1630. t. 1. p. 490 a.) Τίνος γὰρ ἂν καὶ εἴη Υἱὸς μὴ πρὸς αἴτιον ἀναφερόμενος τὸν Πατέρα; Μήτε τῷ Πατρὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατασμικρύνειν ἀξίωμα, τῆς ὡς Πατρὶ καὶ Γεννήτορι; Μικρῶν γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀναξίων ἀρχὴ, μὴ Θεότητος ὢν αἴτιος τῆς τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι θεωρουμένης.

[14] Dialog. 1. De Trin. (t. 5. part. 1. p. 395 d.)

[15] L. 1. c. 11. [Assert. 11.] (ibid. p. 85 d.)

To these I shall add a Latin Father or two, and first, Hilary Bishop of Poictiers, the famous Gallican defender of the Catholic faith against the Arian heresy. [There is nothing more common with him than to speak of *natura generans* and *natura genita*, meaning the particular natures or substances of the Father and the Son, as they are numerically distinguished from one another. Thus in his Book *De Synodis* against the Arians[16], he lays down this assertion, *Subsistens Filius per naturam in se genitam consistit: The Son subsists by the nature that is begotten in him.* What is this less than to say that the particular substance of the Son is begotten, and that the particular substance of the Father begat the particular substance of the Son? which implies two distinct individual substances, and is utterly irreconcilable with the opinion of the Schoolmen. To the same purpose he says again[17], *Omnis nativitas, quæcunque est, in naturam suam ex natura gignente consistit: Every thing that is begotten, whatsoever it be, has its nature from the nature that begets it:* which does certainly suppose that one single nature or substance begets another, though the Schoolmen's hypothesis will not allow it. But further]

He, particularly speaking of the Son of God, says[18], *Ex natura generante naturam sumpsit genita natura: The nature of the Son begotten had that essence from the nature of the Father of which he was begotten:* which whoever will pretend to reconcile with the opinion of the Schools may believe anything in the world, and need never stand at any sort of contradictions.

I could demonstrate this to have been the constant judgment of St. Hilary from many other passages both out of this and others of his writings: but these are so clear and evident, that it would be impertinent to add any more to prove this to have been the opinion of so famed an author.

I proceed to other writers of the same century, but for brevity's sake I shall only name two more.

The first is Fulgentius, who, in his Book [19] *De Fide ad Petrum*, speaking of the Son, says, 'We must believe him so

[16] P. 222. Ed. Basil. 1570. (t. 2. p. 468 b. n. 15.)

[17] Ibid. p. 223. (ibid. p. 470 b. n. 17.)

[18] Ibid. (d.)

[19] C. 2. (ap. Oper. Augustin. t. 6. Append. p. 19 b. 7.) Veruntamen ut de fide, &c.

to be the true God, as not to doubt but that his divinity was begotten of the nature of the Father.' His words are, *Sic Deum verum credo, ut divinitatem ejus de natura Patris natam esse non dubites.* Now what the Divinity of the Son of God, that was begotten, is but his own proper peculiar substance, as distinct from that of the Father, which is unbegotten, I think will not be very easily explained or understood. [Men may tell us that by *nature* and *Divinity begotten* is only meant *person*; so far they are right, if by *person* they mean an individual substance proper and peculiar to such a person: for that is the thing here contended for,—that person and the individual substance of that person are only two synonymous names for one and the same thing; whence it must follow, that if there be two or three persons there must be as many individual substances peculiar to those persons, or else some of the persons must want that which should constitute itself. But, if by *person* they only mean mode, and so make both the divinity of the Son a mode and that which was begotten a mode too, without any substance or essence begotten with it, here I must beg leave to dissent and think the Fathers were of another opinion. If any man's faith be so strong as to believe that the Divinity begotten is a mode and not a substance begotten too; or if his head be so acute and subtle as to distinguish that from Sabellianism, he may enjoy his opinion for me; I shall never pretend to go about to convince him to the contrary. Others, I hope, who are not wedded to an opinion, will judge of the doctrine of the Fathers with more candour and a Christian liberty.]

The other testimony, and the last I shall produce, is out of the author of the second homily *In Diversos Scripturæ Locos* under the name of Origen, printed amongst his works, though it is none of his, but a Latin Author's, who wrote against the Arian heresy. That author[19] expressly asserts, that *the proper substance of the Son is begotten of the proper substance of the Father.* Here it is plain [he speaks of two distinct substances, the one begotten, the other unbegotten, yet] he does not mean that they were two substances of a different nature, or that

[19] Hom. 2. in Diversos, &c. p. 429. (Ed. Ascensian. 1522. t. 3. fol. 117 verso, h. 17.) Cor Patris est sua propria substantia, de qua genita est Filii propria substantia.

there was upon this account any inequality betwixt them; but only that they are two distinct numerical substances; whereof the one is the natural and eternal cause of the other: as he brings in our Saviour himself, asserting there in the words immediately following, *ejus substantia est causa meæ substantiæ.* This I can safely say is agreeable to the sense of all Antiquity.

One amongst the Schoolmen themselves, and no inconsiderable author, is of the same opinion, I mean Richardus de Sancto Victore, in his Sixth Book *De Trinitate,* where he lays down this assertion[20],—*Absque dubio substantia Filii est genita, substantia Patris ingenita: nec ingenita substantia est genita, nec genita ingenita.* And there he severely reflects upon some of his brethren for innovating in this particular, and forsaking the Catholic doctrine of all the primitive Fathers, and further boldly challenges them to produce but any one single passage of any one author before their own time that ever denied that the substance of the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father. *Afferant,* says he, *si possunt, auctoritatem, non dicam plures, sed saltem unam, quæ neget substantiam gignere substantiam.*

This was a bold challenge, but no one of the Schoolmen was ever so bold as to give it a satisfactory answer, and it is no wonder they should not: since perhaps, until Peter Lombard, the father of the Schoolmen, first innovated in this particular, and was defended in it by the Council of Lateran[21], (that very Council which established transubstantiation and many other heterodox points in religion,) I say, perhaps till that time no one author can be produced that ever denied that the substance of the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father.

[The Ancients indeed often tell us that the Divine Nature or Substance in general, absolutely considered without regard to its subsisting in this or that particular Person, is neither begotten nor unbegotten: for then all the Persons must be either begotten, which, besides other absurdities attending it,

[20] Cap. 22. (Venet. 1592. p. 277 e. 8.) [For a brief account of this author see afterwards, Serm. on the Divin. of Christ, p. 406, n. 17. Ed.]

[21] C. Lateran. 4. anno 1215, sub Innocent. III. c. 2. (Labb. et Cossart. t. 11. p. 144 a.) Damnamus ergo, &c.

would destroy the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or else they must be all unbegotten, and that would introduce Tritheism, or *Tria Ingenita*, which is three Gods: for this reason, I say, the Fathers always peremptorily deny that the Divine Nature in general is either wholly unbegotten or wholly begotten; but their doctrine is, that it is capable of both. Upon which account it is that the proper substance of the Father is unbegotten, because he is the Father and never the Son; the proper substance of the Son is begotten, and cannot be said to be unbegotten; for then he would not be a Son; and the proper substance of the Holy Ghost neither strictly unbegotten as the Father is, nor begotten as the Son is, but in a way, as unknown to us as the generation of the Son, peculiar to himself, proceeding from both. And according to this explication I do assert, and challenge any one whomsoever to disprove it, that the Fathers in general do maintain that the Divine substance of the Son is begotten of the substance of the Father: and consequently, according to the Schoolmen's own concession, they must believe them to be two single or numerical substances, really distinct, but not divided or separated, from each other.]

At present, if any one questions whether I have fairly represented the difference betwixt the Fathers and Schoolmen in this particular, or requires greater satisfaction upon the point, he may please to consult a very competent judge in this case, who perhaps will fully answer all his scruples. I mean the learned Dr. Bull, in his most incomparable and immortal work, his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*[22] against the Arians, in the fourth section of which book, chapter 1, he undertakes to prove both against Calvin, Petavius, and all the Schoolmen, that the Divinity, nature and essence, and the *totum esse* of the Son of God was always believed by Antiquity to be the natural and eternal offspring of the Father's nature. [And indeed the very reason of the thing itself will tell a man that it is absurd to talk, as the Schoolmen do, of a person's being begotten, but not his essence or substance begotten with him: for that makes the formal notion of the person of the Son to be a mere τρόπος ὑπάρξεως, which with all the subtlety in the world will never be freed from Sabellianism.]

[22] Inter Opera Theologica Latine Conscripta, &c. Londini 1721. fol.

So that this argument, [to sum up the minutes of it,] both in itself and *ad hominem*, has almost the strength of a demonstration; for if what the Schoolmen say be true, that wherever there is *substantia genita et ingenita* there must be two distinct numerical substances; then it will infallibly follow that the Fathers, by asserting that the substance of the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father, do thereby assert that They are two distinct numerical substances, and consequently that they believed the Three Persons in the Trinity to be three distinct individual substances, not only notionally or modally, but really distinct from one another, which was the proposition to be shown.

When I can see this argument fairly answered by any of the Schoolmen, I shall then begin to have a more favourable opinion of them: but till that be done, I must beg leave to think that they have in this particular, as well as in many others, manifestly prevaricated and deviated from the doctrine of the Fathers.

The Fathers could rationally say that the substance of the Father was unbegotten and yet the substance of the Son begotten; because this was agreeable to their hypothesis, who believed them to be two distinct numerical substances agreeing in one common nature. But the Schoolmen, who had advanced the hypothesis of one absolutely single substance utterly exclusive of three [substances in any sense], could not say so without a contradiction. And therefore as they had forsaken the Fathers, first in saying there was but one single substance in the Godhead, taking *substance* in another sense than the Fathers did; so they were forced to forsake them a second time, and say that that substance did neither beget nor was begotten, for fear of involving themselves in a manifest contradiction. For to say that the same single substance is both begotten and unbegotten, is in the opinion of the Schoolmen themselves, as well as all mankind, a downright contradiction. And then upon that supposition we have an infallible proof, that unless the Ancients spoke most apparent absurdities and contradictions, since they have spoken of a substance begotten, and a substance unbegotten, and a substance proceeding, they could not mean one single substance utterly exclusive of three, but three individual substances agreeing in one common nature.

[The consequence of all which is, that the Fathers had a clear notion about the doctrine of the Trinity fairly reconcilable to our reason; whilst the Schoolmen, inventing new notions and fixing them upon some old terms, still retained but grossly mistaken, have involved themselves in inextricable difficulties and contradictions.]

Having thus shown, in the second place, in what sense the Ancients did believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be three, I should now proceed to show their notion agreeable to Scripture and consistent with any notion they had of the unity of the Godhead. But the time not allowing, I shall only obviate again the charge of Tritheism, by showing briefly what was their notion of Tritheism, and in what sense they did not believe them to be three, and so conclude.

Now Tritheism or Three Gods in the sense of Antiquity, for what I have been able to observe, always implies one of these five things.

1. Either three beings of a different nature and unequal to one another; which was the heresy of Arius, who made *Deus maximus, minor, et minimus.*

2. Or else, three beings actually separated or divided from each other: for all actual separation is utterly inconsistent with union; which yet is absolutely necessary to the unity of the Godhead: therefore three beings actually divided or separated from each other, as three men or three angels are, though they were of the same nature, yet could not be said to be one undivided being, much less one God.

3. When three beings are supposed to be as it were three parts of one whole, having divine perfections amongst them, but none of them or not all of them possessed of all: this was the Polytheism of some of the Gentiles, who [as Nazianzen in one of his Orations[22] observes] divided the government of the world into a triarchy, assigning Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto their distinct limits of nature as well as jurisdiction.

4. When three infinite beings are supposed to exist equally absolute and independent of each other, without any natural order or subordination to One First, as the first fountain and

[22] [Vid. Orat. 36. (Ed. Par. 1630. t. 1. p. 602 a.) .... Τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστατεῖν, διῃρημενοῦς καὶ ταῖς ὕλαις, καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι. Τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον οὐ τοιοῦτον. ED.]

original of the Deity: this is the heresy of *Autotheanism*, commonly charged upon Calvin; whether justly or unjustly I shall not now undertake to determine, but only say that three ἄναρχοι, or αὐτόθεοι, as the Fathers[23] word it, i. e. three co-ordinate beings, whereof one is not the necessary and eternal cause of the other two, are in the sense of Antiquity three Gods.

5. Lastly, when three beings, for want of such a subordination to One First, are supposed to be three different Creators or three different Providences clashing and interfering with one another; which was the heresy of the Marcionites and Manichees, and other such like heretics, who set up contrary principles, a good and a bad one, thwarting and opposing one another.

These five things the Fathers commonly charge with Polytheism: but none of them are applicable to their notion of the Trinity. For though the Three Persons in their sense be three distinct numerical substances, yet they are neither, first, three beings of a different nature, as Arius meant: nor, secondly, three beings actually divided or separated from each other, as three men or three angels are, but most inseparably and eternally, yet without confusion, united into One; which union of substances is so necessary in infinite beings, that we cannot possibly conceive them otherwise than as actually and eternally united into one: nor, thirdly, are they three parts of one whole, sharing Divine perfections amongst them, but every one is equally possessed of all: [and this naturally follows from their being equal in nature, and so falls in with the first sort of unity:] nor, fourthly, are they three beings that have Divine nature independently, every one from himself: but the Father

[23] [Vid. Suicer. Thes. Eccles. (t. 1. p. 582.) Αὐτόθεος ad *οὐσίαν* quod attinet non tantum est Pater in divinis, sed etiam Filius et Spiritus Sanctus: una enim eademque et simplicissima est Θεότης. De Filio diserte Epiphanius, Hæresi 77. (t. 1. p. 1029 b.) ... Ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν τελειότητα αὐτοτέλειος ὢν, αὐτόθεος ὢν, αὐτοδύναμις, αὐτονοῦς, αὐτοφῶς.—Ibid. Eusebius H. E. l. 10. c. 4. p. 109. (Ed. Vales. Paris. 1659. p. 375 b.) ex Oratione Panegyrica de Ecclesiarum Exstructione, Paulino Tyriorum episcopo nuncupata, affert *Jesum Christum, Salvatorem nostrum,* οὐχ οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς τοῦ καθόλου Θεοῦ Παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτόθεον προσκυνεῖσθαι.—These citations will serve to illustrate the force of the term *Essential God.*—See afterwards, the Sermon on the Divinity of Christ, p. 420, nn. 41 and 42, where Origen is cited. Ed.]

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in an eternal harmony and concord.

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the Ancients thought

or operation from the Father, to whom they are subordinate, and from whom they derive their nature and power of acting: and to one of these heads every thing the Fathers have said of the Unity of the Trinity may very fairly be reduced.]

So that upon the whole, they who believe Three Infinite Beings, [i.e. persons or individual substances,] numerically distinct from one another, but under these several limitations, [i. e. neither of a different nature, nor divided from one another, nor united as parts that make up a whole, nor collateral and co-ordinate, nor of a different will and operation, but on the contrary, one by unity of nature, one by mutual *περιχώρησις, immeation* or *perfect union and conjunction*, one by unity of principle or subordination, and one by unity of will and action,] they cannot in the sense of Antiquity be justly charged with Tritheism, nor be said to believe any more than One God.

And this, I conceive, is an intelligible account of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead; and shows us how we may believe, without a contradiction on the one hand or fear of heresy on the other, that "there are Three who bear record in heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and yet that "these Three are One."

And thus much may be sufficient to be hinted at present concerning the primitive notion of Divine Unity; the fuller explication and proof whereof I shall reserve for some other opportunity.

MONITUM.

[With respect to the three Sermons which follow, I would remind the Reader, that the first and second should be regarded as the second and third on the subject of the Trinity, which they thus complete. It is evident also that they were prepared for publication by the Author, as well as the famous Sermon originally preached at Oxford in 1795; and of this the Dedication to the Clergy of the Deaneries of Winchester and Somborn Regis is sufficient proof. The reason of their non-appearance has already been suggested in the Monitum to the preceding Discourse. Possibly the Author would eventually have published them, as they are, or thrown them into some other shape, had his valuable life been spared a few years longer.

I have no means of ascertaining the original date of the Sermon on the Mercy of God, but I apprehend it was delivered, about the period of the Sermons and Letters on Absolution, sometime in 1712 or 1713, or some other period after he became Rector of Havant. However that be, the Sermon itself is a valuable production, and may be regarded as a good specimen of the Author's practical ministrations in the parochial pulpit. Ed.]

TWO SERMONS

PREACHED

BEFORE THE CLERGY AT VISITATIONS HELD IN WINCHESTER:

The First, on the 12th May, 1696, "On the Sense of the Primitive Church concerning the Divinity of Christ, in opposition to Photinianism, Arianism, Sabellianism, and Tritheism;"

And the Second, on the 16th Sept. 1697, "On the Great Duty, more especially incumbent on those who have undertaken the Solemn Office of the Priesthood, of searching diligently after Truth, as it relates to the Divinity of Christ, and other Scriptural Points of Doctrine."

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND LATE FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

TO THE REVEREND

THE CLERGY

OF THE

DEANERIES OF WINCHESTER AND SOMBORN REGIS,

IN THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER.

Reverend Sirs,

These Discourses being preached in your audience, do now present themselves unto you, desiring your acceptance. Whether they be fit to be inscribed to you or not, belongs not to me to say; the subject of them, however, is such, as being your immediate concern, there can be no solecism in the dedication. But there is another reason why they are now addressed to you; which is, that the author might have an opportunity of giving you a more full account of the occasion of them. To do which, I must give you an account also of another Sermon which I preached before the learned body of the University of Oxford, for which I incurred the displeasure of some of the heads of that place. The main of my crime, though other reasons were pretended, was, that I had tacitly reflected on a leading person in the University[1], who, under pretence of explaining the notion of Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity, had manifestly, though not designedly, given up the cause to the Socinian adversary. For his notion is, that the terms *Person, Father, Son, Generation, &c.*, are not proper, but

[1] [I presume Dr. South, who from 1670 to the date of his death in 1716 was a Canon of Christ Church. He was in 1693, two years before the Sermon alluded to, the author of 'Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, entitled *A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity*. By a Divine of the Church of England. London, 1693. 4to. Ed.]

only metaphorical terms, as they are used in the doctrine of the Trinity; and that *Three Persons* means no more but either three different names or offices, or different respects and capacities of one and the same thing, as Tully says of himself, *Sustineo unus tres personas, mei, adversarii, judicis*[2]; so God, in his opinion, is no otherwise Three Persons than as he may be considered under the different habitudes or capacities of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Sanctifier. This doctrine I delivered publicly, both in his Sermons before the University, and in his Letters against the Socinians; which, though none of his learned brethren, till of late, were pleased to censure, yet the Socinians immediately took notice of it, and declared in print, that if this was all that Catholics meant by a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, they, or however the Sabellians would subscribe this doctrine, and put an end to all the controversies about it; and indeed it is no wonder they should make such a declaration; for this notion of *Three Persons* is no other but that classic equivocal notion which the Ancient Church always condemned in Sabellius, and the Romanists in Laurentius Valla, and the Protestants in Servetus, who all owned *Three Persons* in their own sense, i. e. in the sense that *persona* and *πρόσωπον* are taken in classic authors, as the Socinians now pretend to do. I could not, I confess, but with some regret see the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity thus explained away, and no one but the Socinians take notice of it: who thence also took occasion to invent that scandalous distinction betwixt nominal and real Trinitarians, reckoning the nominals, that is themselves, the only Catholics, and all others Tritheistic heretics.

Having therefore an opportunity to preach before the learned and venerable body of the University, after a strict inquiry into the sense of the Catholic Church upon this great article of our faith, upon which the whole economy of the Christian religion, as it is Christian, depends, I took occasion modestly, without naming the author, to animadvert upon his novel and heterodox notion, which gave such advantage to the

[2] [Cicero, De Oratore, l. 2. c. 24. (Amstel. 1724. 12mo. v. 2. p. 381.) Itaque cum ille discessit, tres personas unus sustineo, summa animi æquitate, meam, adversarii, judicis. —Conf. Nizolii Thesaur. Ciceron. in Serm. *Persona*. Lugdun. 1584. fol. Ed.]

Socinian adversary. And in doing it, I used what I conceived to be the properest method; which was, to oppose to this modern notion the ancient ecclesiastical notion of the term *person*, as delivered by the primitive Fathers, concerning whose opinion I asserted these three things:—

First, that the notion which they had of the term *person* in this mystery was not what the old Roman Classics commonly understand by *a person*, not an habitude or capacity or the distinction of an office, but what the philosophers meant by *a particular* or *individual substance;* which is the account that is given us by Boëtius[3], [or rather Boëthius,] who defines *persona* to be *rationabilis naturæ individua substantia*, an individual intelligent substance; and by Leontius Byzantinus[4], who tells us, 'that the Fathers of the Church call that *an hypostasis* or *person*, ὅπερ οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἄτομον οὐσίαν λέγουσι, *which the philosophers call an individual substance*, and that they never call any kind of accidents by the name of *person* or *hypostasis*.'

Secondly, I asserted also, that agreeably to this notion of the term *person*, the Fathers, in their dispute with the Sabellians, the better to avoid their classic equivocal sense of three persons, did for distinction's sake many times call the Divine Persons *three personal substances*, and *three individual subsisting substances*, not in the Arian notion of three substances, which implies a disparity and dissimilitude of essential properties, such as is betwixt created and uncreated substances, but in a Catholic sense, as denoting that real distinction which must be betwixt a Father and a Son, whereof the substance of one is begotten of the substance of the other. This is the account which Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, the first antagonist of Arius, gives in opposition to the Sabellians in that very Epistle[5], where he is refuting Arius. He tells us, that the Father and Son are δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει φύσεις, *two personal substances* or *hypostatic natures*. So that there was no dispute betwixt Alexander and Arius upon this point; but they both agreed thus far against the Sabellians, that the Three Persons

[3] See before, Serm. on the Trinity, p. 365, n. 4, citing Vall. Elegant. l. 6. c. 34.

[4] De Sectis, artic. 1. (ap. Galland. t. 12. p. 625 b.)

[5] Ap. Theodoret. H.E. l. 1. c. 4. (Ed. Cantabr. 1720. pp. 9, seqq.)

were not merely three distinct offices or capacities of one and the same solitary being, but three distinct hypostatic substances: the only question was, Whether the substance of the Son was eternally begotten of the substance of the Father, and consequently like and equal to him in all the perfections of the Divine Nature as his proper and natural Son? or, Whether it was created out of nothing, and inferior as a mere created being? This latter distinction of substances, i. e. disparity and inequality of nature, such as is betwixt God and a creature, Arius asserted, and Alexander denied, who yet at the same time maintained the distinction of personal or hypostatic substances against the Sabellians.

Thirdly, I asserted further, that the Fathers were so far from thinking the Divine Persons to be only different habitudes or capacities of one and the same thing, that they believed them to be, what a learned writer[6] had lately called them, distinct personal Minds or Spirits; not in any Arian or Tritheistic sense, as denoting either an inequality of nature or co-ordination of the Persons, but in the forementioned Catholic sense, as denoting intelligent hypostatic substances or proper persons in the true ecclesiastical notion, under the relation of a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This I conceived to be the meaning of St. Athanasius and St. Basil, when they tell us expressly, in their discourses against the Sabellians, that we are to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be Τρία Τέλεια Ἀσώματα, *Three Perfect* or *Infinite Incorporeal Beings*, or, as I conceived the sense to be, *Three Infinite Minds or Spirits in a personal acceptation:* for I had regard to the sense and not the mere words alone. If I was mistaken in the translation, I shall only say, I pretend to be no infallible interpreter of Greek or Latin, nor shall I here pretend to say further what agreement there is betwixt these several terms, *three distinct incorporeal Beings, three distinct intelligent hypostatic Substances, three distinct Minds* or *Spirits*, and *three distinct proper subsisting Persons;* but leave you and other judicious readers to determine.

However this was the sum of what I then asserted in an historical way concerning the notion which the Fathers had of

[6] [Dr. William Sherlock in his *Vindication*, &c. See the Preface to the preceding Sermon on the Trinity, p. 355, n. 3. Ed.]

the Divine Persons; and this with as innocent a design as ever man had, only to show that the thing which gave the Socinians occasion to insult over us, as mere nominal Trinitarians, was not the genuine exposition of the sense of the Catholic Church, but only the singular explication of a late leading author [7], who, with Laurentius Valla and Servetus, had fetched his notion of *persons* and *personal distinctions* from Cicero and the Classics, and not from the writings of the Primitive Fathers. Yet this occasioned that heavy censure, which charged me with asserting doctrines, false, impious, and heretical, contrary and dissonant to the doctrine of the Catholic Church; though I was doing nothing all the time, but delivering both the words and sense of the Catholic Fathers, in opposition to that leading person, who had despised them all to follow an exotic notion, which was never received by the Catholic Church. But this was not all: the decree was seconded with three other charges in the prints that followed, viz. that of Arianism, Tritheism, and the Heresy of Valentinus Gentilis [8]. Now these were heavy charges indeed, and, if true, enough to give all wise and sober men a just abhorrence of any one that stood charged with them.

This being then my present case when I first came amongst you, I could not but think myself obliged to wipe off these as unjust and scandalous charges, and free myself from those prejudices under which, perhaps, I might otherwise have laboured in the opinion of those with whom I was to have my daily converse. Therefore, being called by the command of my superiors to discharge a public office at a Visitation, I thought no subject of discourse so proper as that which would give me at once an opportunity both of asserting the Catholic faith and wiping off those calumnies which were causelessly thrown upon me. And this I endeavoured to do in the first of these Discourses; wherein I have summed up the main force of the argument from Scripture and Antiquity, against the professed adversaries of our Saviour's Divinity, and discovered also certain plain mistakes, which afforded some warm authors a kind of topic for their declamatory harangues and invectives,

[7] [Dr. South, in his replies to and attacks on Dr. Sherlock. See the Preface, as before, p. 354, n. 1, and p. 355, n. 3.

[8] See before, Pref. to Sermon on the Trinity, pp. 356, 357. nn. 4, 5. Ed.]

only for want of a clear stating of those matters upon which they grounded their accusations.

It was said by some [8], on purpose to aggravate matters, that Valentinus Gentilis was put to death for asserting *Three Infinite Spirits* in the Trinity. This I showed to be either a gross piece of ignorance or a malicious calumny: because Valentinus Gentilis believed and asserted the direct contrary. It was pretended again, that the Council of Nice and Catholic Fathers had universally condemned the doctrine of *Three Personal Substances* as Arianism. This I showed to be still a grosser mistake, by clearing the account of Arianism, and showing that the Arian notion of *three substances*, which the Catholic Fathers condemned, always implied such a difference in essential properties or nature as is betwixt created and uncreated, God and a creature; whereas two personal substances, differing no otherwise than as *gignens* and *genitum*, Father and Son, is so far from being Arianism, that it is the very expression which Alexander and other Catholics used as a proper medium betwixt Arius and Sabellius. For Sabellius would allow no such distinction as that of *personal substances*. Arius allowed it, but carried it a little further, viz. to a disparity or inequality of nature. For he thought there could not be two persons or personal substances equal to one another in all essential perfections, but this must necessarily imply there being two Gods: and therefore he charged Alexander with Polytheism for asserting it, whence I also made it appear further, that Tritheism is no new charge against the doctrine of the Trinity: but that it is as old as Arius; and, such as it is, grounded merely upon another mistake of the true nature of it; which I showed to consist properly in asserting *Three First Principles*, or *Three Infinite Co-ordinate Persons, all unoriginated and unbegotten, without any mutual relation or subordination to one another*. According to which genuine and only proper notion of Tritheism it could not be laid to the charge of the Primitive Fathers, who never maintained *Three First Principles*, or *Three Unbegotten and Co-ordinate Persons*: but always taught equally against Photinians, Arians, Sabellians, and Tritheites, that the divine substance of the Son is eternally

[8] [See the Life of Valentinus Gentilis as referred to in the same Preface, *p. 354*, n. 1. Ed.]

originated and begotten of the substance of his Father: which one assertion excludes all manner of heresies; for the divine generation of the Son, taken in a real and proper, not a metaphorical sense, is the true reason why he is neither a creature, as Arius maintained, nor the same person with the Father, as Sabellius believed; nor another unbegotten principle, i. e. another God, as the Tritheites asserted, but the natural and eternal Son of God, as being neither created nor yet unbegotten, but eternally begotten of the substance of his Father. I showed further, that if there was any real ground for the charge of Tritheism at present, it belonged to another sort of men, who in spite of universal tradition (which yet they so much pretend to) had maintained what no one Catholic author before them ever did, viz. that the divine substance of the Son is unbegotten: the natural consequence of which is that he is not a Son, but either the same unbegotten person with the Father, which is Sabellianism; or else a distinct unbegotten person, which is Polytheism; though I thought it uncharitable to charge them with either part of the consequence, because they expressly rejected both.

Thus I endeavoured to answer the main charges brought indeed (not against me, but) against the doctrine of the primitive Fathers, by setting things in a fairer light, and showing the falseness of all whether ignorant or malicious accusations: the removal of which, concurring with a desire to establish truth, was the thing that principally engaged my thoughts upon the argument that runs through these Discourses. How well I might manage it to your satisfaction, I am not able justly to say: it is sufficient to me, that meeting with a learned, judicious, and unprejudiced auditory, and an assembly of Bereans[9] too, I so far gained your approbation as not to be thought worthy of another censure; and this chiefly inclined me to make these Discourses public, which at first were only designed for your private satisfaction: not doubting but that though they may meet with some warm and angry men, who perhaps will be provoked only for being told the truth, yet they will also light upon many of the same ingenuous temper

[9] [See Acts 17, 11. These..... searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so. Ed.]

with yourselves, who will be glad to see truth set in a fair light, and to find plausible errors plainly detected. And if they will contribute any thing towards this end, they will answer the design both of their being preached and published.

There is one thing more I would beg leave here to insert concerning the notion which the Ancients had of the Divine Persons; because I have no where done it in either of the following Discourses: and yet it tends much to recommend their hypothesis beyond any modern explication: which is, that their notion of *persons* not only gives us a fair account of a real Trinity, and is liable to no just exception, but also gives us a very clear and intelligible account of all the other mysteries of the Christian religion; particularly of the incarnation of the Son of God, and of his mediation and intercession for us to the Father. The Christian religion obliges us to believe that the Second Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, and he alone, was incarnate; that is, that his Divine Substance was really united to an human body and soul; and yet neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost were incarnate with him.

Now supposing what Alexander and the Catholic Fathers supposed, that the Three Divine Persons are not mere habitudes or different capacities of one and the same thing, but *three distinct personal or hypostatic substances*, it is very easy to conceive how the Second Person alone was incarnate, and not the other Two; that is, how the personal substance of the Son was united to an human body and soul, without saying the same thing either of the Father or of the Holy Ghost. But upon that hypothesis which makes only metaphorical persons, and defines them to be only different habitudes or respects, different offices or names of the same thing, this doctrine of the incarnation of the Son alone is very perplexed and unintelligible.

The like may be said of the Father's sending the Son into the world, which is a concomitant of the incarnation, without either sending himself or being sent by the Son. This will be very intricate and unconceivable upon the hypothesis of *metaphorical persons*, or *persons in a classical sense;* for one office or capacity cannot properly be said to send another; nor can the same being, sustaining three persons of this kind, send one

person without sending another, and sending himself too. Suppose Tully [10] to be a judge, an orator, and a consul; that is, three persons, as some are pleased to term it: can we, with any tolerable sense say, that Tully the judge sends the orator, that is, himself, under another capacity? Is not he that sends, and he that is sent, the very same? How then can one person upon this hypothesis be supposed to send another without sending himself at the same time? This was the absurdity of the Sabellian notion of old, and the main argument that the Catholics urged against it; that this notion of *persons*, as it made the Father to be incarnate, so it also confounded the distinction betwixt him that sends and him that is sent, and made the thing utterly inconceivable. But now upon the primitive ecclesiastical notion of *persons* it is very intelligible, how the Father may be conceived to send the Son without sending himself, supposing Alexander's distinction of *personal substances*, or Athanasius's distinction of *complete incorporeal beings*. There is no difficulty in conceiving this: for the distinction betwixt him that sends and him that is sent, upon this notion of *persons*, lies level to every man's understanding. Thus then the primitive notion of *persons* has the advantage of that modern explication, in that it gives us, what the other does not, a fair and intelligible account of God's sending his Son into the world, and of the Son alone being incarnate.

And as it gives us a clear account of this, so it does also of that other great mystery, the Son's intercession and mediation to the Father for us. It is very inconceivable how one office should intercede or mediate to another. Intercession is an act of a rational or intelligent being; and intercession of one to another supposes distinct intelligent beings, one interceding, another to whom the intercession is made. But this cannot be said of distinct offices or capacities in the same being: there can be no intercession of these one to another; nor can any being upon the account of such capacities both intercede and be interceded to: for nothing properly intercedes to itself, although it be under another capacity. So that the hypothesis of *metaphorical persons* quite evacuates one principal part of Christianity, whilst it gives us no satisfactory account of the Son's mediating and interceding with the Father for us. But

[10] [See p. 388, n. 2, preceding. Ed.]

upon the primitive notion of *persons* this doctrine will be rendered very intelligible. For supposing *persons* to be individual intelligent substances, as Leontius and Boëthius describe them [11]; or personal substances, as Alexander words it; or incorporeal and spiritual beings, as St. Athanasius and St. Basil call them [12]; then there is no difficulty in conceiving how one intelligent person performs the rational act of intercession and mediation to another. This is so natural and easy a conception upon the primitive notion of *persons*, that any ordinary apprehension may be made to understand it; whereas upon the other hypothesis, which takes *persons* in a classical and metaphorical sense, and makes different offices and capacities constitute different persons, the acutest head and subtlest reasoner can never be able to give any clear account of it, because it suits not to the notion of such sort of persons.

I might here go on through all the mysteries of the Christian religion, and show how much easier they are to be explained and understood upon the old ecclesiastical notion of the Divine Persons, than upon this new exotic notion fetched out of Roman authors: but I suppose what has been already suggested is abundantly sufficient to evidence the truth of this. Therefore I cannot but think that all calm and sober men, who consider things impartially without heat and prejudice, will bear a just regard to that hypothesis, which besides its Catholicism and Antiquity, contributes so much towards a clear understanding of all the necessary articles of the Christian faith. And if that be the true advantage of this hypothesis, then it can be no disservice to the Christian religion to have endeavoured to give a fair and just account of it: if such an attempt deserves no more, yet I hope it may pretend to deserve a favourable construction; which I am willing to persuade myself, Gentlemen, it has already had from you: and that makes this address but only a necessary return of my grateful acknowledgments for that favour you were pleased to bestow upon

Your respectful humble Servant,

J. B.

[11] See nn. 3 and 4, preceding.

[12] See p. 390, preceding.

A SERMON

ON

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

---

2 PETER 2, 1.

But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction.

IN these words it is very probable the Apostle principally intended to describe the primitive heretics of his own times: for, as appears from the best records of ancient history, four several heretics had broached their doctrines against the Person of our Saviour, even whilst many of the Apostles were yet alive; particularly Simon Magus, Nicolaus, Ebion, and Cerinthus. Against the two last of which St. John wrote his Gospel, as Irenæus[1] tells us expressly, who is an author of undoubted credit, and one who was very capable of knowing this, being scholar to Polycarp, who was disciple to St. John. So that it is not improbable, but that St. Peter also might have his eye upon those early corrupters of the truth, who began to sow their tares in the Apostle's days.

But, however, letting this pass at present only as a probability, it is certain he here prophetically describes and characterises all those heretics who should, in after ages, make future attempts upon the Divinity and incarnation of

[1] [Adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 11. (Ed. Oxon. 1702. p. 218.) Hanc fidem annuntians Johannes, Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his, qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, &c. ED.]

our Saviour, and deny the satisfaction and redemption made by his death. First, he tells us there would come a generation of men who would even deny the Lord that bought them. Then, secondly, that they would do this privily and craftily under the disguise and pretence of truth. Thirdly, that such men, whatever their subtleties and pretences be, were still to be looked upon only as false teachers. Lastly, that their doctrines are not only simply false and erroneous, but heretical and damnable; such as will bring upon the authors swift destruction. In this character the Apostle does so graphically describe the reviving heresies of our own times, and withal so plainly obviate their main pretensions, that, as if what Porphyry said of Daniel's prophecy [2] were to be applied to this, 'one might rather take it for an historical account, than a prophetical description.'

To make this appear, in the further prosecution of these words, I shall

I. Show who those are that may be said *to deny the Lord that bought them;* by drawing an historical parallel betwixt the ancient and modern heresies, which have undermined the true Divinity of our Saviour.

II. I shall point out *the principal arts* by which two of the most prevailing heresies, namely, Arianism and Socinianism, do privily recommend themselves, and show that they are these two pretences:—First, that many eminent Catholic authors have acknowledged, that their doctrines are not contradicted, either in words or sense, by Scripture or Antiquity, for the three first centuries after Christ. Secondly, that though they be erroneous, yet they are not heretical and damnable.

III. In opposition to *the first of which pretences,* I shall

[2] [I cannot but think it a matter much to be lamented, that the compiler and editor of Dr. Arnold's Life has published among the Remains of that eminent man a Letter of his, dated at Fox How, Janʸ. 25th, 1840, to Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., in which the ancient attack of the infidel Porphyry upon the Book of Daniel is at least revived and resuggested, if not actually commended and justified. I conceive that if Dr. Arnold had lived to write his own Autobiography, he would not, even a few years afterwards, when many of his views were much modified, have published that Letter; or, I think, that if he were here now, in 1855, to revise his Biography, though from the authorship of an intimate friend, he would considerably qualilfy or entirely retract such sentiments. See Arnold's Life, Oxford, 1844, v. 2. p. 188. Ed.]

show in the third place, that, notwithstanding any concessions of Catholic authors, their doctrines are contrary to the plainest and most indubitable sense of Scripture and primitive writers for the three first centuries after Christ.

IV. And in opposition to *the second*, I shall, in the last place, prove from the same fountains of Antiquity, that they are not only false, but heretical and damnable.

And this, I conceive, will be a fair exposition, and just comment upon the Apostle's words, "There shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them."

I. I begin with the first, which is to show who those are that may be said *to deny the Lord that bought them;* by drawing an historical parallel betwixt some of the more noted heresies, ancient and modern, which have undermined the true Divinity of our Saviour. And this I shall endeavour to do the more accurately and exactly, because the very stating rightly of some opinions is with ingenuous men a sufficient confutation of them.

Now such heresies, I conceive, may be summed up under these four kinds, Photinianism, Arianism, Sabellianism, and Tritheism. The two first deny him to be God, the two latter to be the Son of God. Photinianism and Arianism ascribe unto him no Divinity at all; Sabellianism and Tritheism such a Divinity as destroys his filiation. So that all concur, though in different ways, to undermine the true doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity, and "deny the Lord that bought them."

1. Photinianism allows him nothing but a bare human nature; making him a ψιλος ἀνθρωπος, *a mere man*, that never had a being in the world till he was born of the Virgin Mary: *Christum hominem tantummodo solitarium asserit, cui principium ascribit ex Maria*[3]. The very same is now asserted by Socinus and his followers; though neither he nor Photinus was the first author of it. It was an heresy begun very early, even in the Apostles' days, by Ebion; against whom St. John

[3] [Vincentius Lirinensis, c. 12, speaking of Photinus. (Ed. Baluz. Pedepont. 1742. p. 316. Oxon. 1836. p. 29.) Photini ergo hæc secta est. Dicet Deum singulum esse et solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi aut ullam Spiritus Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tantummodo solitarium asserit, &c. Ed.]

therefore is supposed to have levelled the first words of his Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" because Ebion denied the Word to be God, and dated his original from the Virgin Mary. From Ebion, the heresy was first taken by Artemas and Theodotion, two obscurer names in ancient history; but was afterwards better known under the names of Paulus Samosatensis and Photinus: the first of which was condemned by two Provincial Councils held at Antioch, and the latter by a General Synod of the Arians themselves, assembled at Sirmium, where they pronounced *anathema* against the heresy, and deposed the author. Since which time it was hardly known in the world, till it was unhappily revived in the last age by Socinus, who to the heresy of the ancients has added another of his own, which may be called *an original;* as being perhaps what was never maintained explicitly in terms by any heretic before, viz. *that the death of Christ is no propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind.* In this Socinus and his followers seem to have outstripped all that went before them, and so more properly fallen under St. Peter's censure, not only in "denying the Lord," but "the Lord that bought them."

2. The next heresy against the Divinity of our Saviour is Arianism; which allows him indeed to have had a being before the world, and ascribes the creation of the world to him; but yet ranks him also amongst the creatures, making him at most but a *Deus factus ex nihilo, a God created out of nothing;* and so of a different nature from the Father, neither consubstantial with him nor co-eternal. These are the genuine doctrines of Arius, as they were first condemned by the Council of Nice, whose *anathema* against the Arian blasphemies is expressed in these words[4]: Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας κτίσμα, ἢ ποίημα, ἢ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, ἢ ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. *The Catholic Church anathematizes those who call him a creature, or a production, or say that he was*

[4] [Vid. Symbol. C. Nicæn. (CC. juxt. Ed. Labb. et Cossart. t. 2. p. 28 c.) .... Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. — Vid. etiam ap. Theodor. l. 1. c. 12. (Ed. Cantabr. 1720. p. 39. 10.) Τοὺς δὲ, κ.τ.λ. Ed.]

made of things which are not, or maintain that there was a time when he did not exist.

But afterwards there arose a subtler kind of Arianism, which allowed him to be both consubstantial and co-eternal, and yet denied him to be infinite in nature or equal to the Father. This was an invention of some politic Arians in St. Austin's days, who kept close to the terms of the Council of Nice, and yet maintained their heresy under them, by putting an equivocal sense upon them. For by *consubstantiality* they meant no more than that the Son was made of the Divine Substance, in the same manner as many other primitive heretics, particularly the Manichees, Priscillianists, and Gnostics, believed concerning the souls of men; viz. that they were made of the very substance of God, and so were of the same nature with the Deity. Apollinaris asserted the same concerning the flesh of Christ, that it was made of his divine nature, and was consubstantial to it. Yet none of these heretics believed the souls or bodies of men to be therefore infinite in substance, or properly of a divine nature equal to their original. No more did these Arians believe the Son to be equal to the Father in nature, though they equivocally played upon terms, and asserted both his consubstantiality and eternity. This is a piece of Arianism, I presume, not very commonly observed: but it is ascribed by St. Austin to the Arians of his own time, and particularly to Donatus, the schismatical bishop of Carthage, who, besides his being a ringleader of the sect of the Donatists, was also infected with this sort of Arianism[5]: ... *Apparet eum etiam non Catholicam de Trinitate habuisse sententiam: sed quamvis ejusdem substantiæ, minorem tamen Patre Filium, et minorem Filio putasse Spiritum Sanctum.*

And this kind of Arianism was revived in the last age by Valentinus Gentilis[6]; who asserted in the same terms that the Son was consubstantial to the Father and co-eternal, but yet of a finite and circumscriptible nature. It is true, indeed, we have been told very confidently by Curcellæus[7] and some

[5] De Hæres. c. 69. (t. 8. p. 21 f.)

[6] [See before, in the Author's preface to the Sermon on the Trinity, pp. 354 and 357, notes 1 and 5.

[7] Vid. De Vocibus Trinitatis, Prim. ex Quaternion. Dissertat. int. Oper. (Amstel. Elzev. 1675. pp. 811, seqq.) ED.]

authors since, that Valentinus Gentilis believed three infinite Spirits in the Trinity. But if we may judge of his doctrine by his own assertions, he believed quite the contrary, that it was impossible there should be three infinite Spirits, or Spirits of immense substance. For this is one of his assertions amongst his *Protheses: Tres Spiritus immensæ substantiæ esse non possunt.* And for this very reason, though he allowed the Son, with the forementioned Arians, to be consubstantial and eternal, (taking these words in an equivocal sense,) yet he still denied his infinity and equality, and made him only a finite and circumscriptible substance. These are his own words: *Filius pro generationis modulo circumscriptibilis genitus est.* Upon which account we rank Gentilis, where he must and ought to stand, amongst the Arians, rather than the Tritheites; which, as will presently appear, are heresies very different from one another.

3. The third heresy which undermines the Divinity of our Saviour is Sabellianism; which was first begun by Simon Magus, carried on by Noëtus and Praxeas, but was more fully known under the name of Sabellius. This destroys our Saviour's Divinity by denying his real and substantial generation; making it only metaphorical and improper: thereby subverting all real and personal distinction betwixt Father and Son, which cannot consist without a true and proper substantial generation.

St. Hilary, in his book *De Synodis* [8], thus describes the Sabellian heresy, making it to be that *quæ personam genitæ adimit essentiæ, which destroys the person of the Son by denying the generation of his substance.* And again [9], *quæ unicam ac sine progenie sua solitarii Dei velit affirmare substantiam; that which affirms the substance of God to be singular and solitary without any offspring.* In opposition to this the primitive Fathers unanimously maintain the real and proper generation of the substance of the Son as the foundation of his personal distinction. And many of them, the better to secure this real distinction betwixt the Divine Persons, not only use the terms Τρία Πρόσωπα and *Tres Personas*, but also Τρεῖς

[8] [Juxt. Ed. Benedict. Veron. 1730. c. 27. n. 4. (t. 2. p. 489 d.)

[9] *Ibid.* ant. c. 12. (p. 484 c.) Tamen ne rursum unius Dei prædicatio, unicam ac sine progenie, &c.

Ὑποστάσεις, and Τρεῖς ὑποστάσει Φύσεις, Τρία Ἀσωμάτα Τέλεια, Τρία Πράγματα, Τρία Ὑποκείμενα, and sometimes *Tres Substantias*, in a Catholic sense [10], and *Tres Substantias Individuas*, or *Substantias particulariter Subsistentes*, which Boëthius makes to be the same with an ὑπόστασις, or *real subsisting person*. And there seems to have been very good reason for this accurate variety of expression. For St. Basil tells us the Sabellians were used to play upon terms as well as the Arians, and vent their own heresy under an equivocal and ambiguous sense of the Catholic words πρόσωπον and *persona*. Those words will signify either *real subsisting beings;* or else only *different modes, offices,* or *relations of one and the same solitary being*. In this latter sense the Sabellians would not scruple to assert that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were Τρία Πρόσωπα and *Tres Personæ:* meaning no more than *three different offices* or *capacities* of one and the same substantial person, or a single person considered under a triple relation. As Tully [11] is an orator, a philosopher, and a consul, so God is a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Sanctifier. As he creates the world, he may be considered under the person or character of a *Father;* as he redeems it by becoming incarnate, he may be considered as a *Son;* and as he sanctifies it by his grace, he sustains the person of an *Holy Spirit*. This is the genuine notion of the Sabellian Trinity of Persons.

And this is the heresy which was renewed with the very same sophistry in the last ages by Laurentius Valla [12] and Servetus. They both pretended indeed to assert a Trinity of Persons: but upon inquiry, when it comes to be examined, it only proves a Trinity of different Qualities, Modes, Offices, or Relations. Melancthon has most excellently described this subtle kind of Sabellianism reviving in Servetus; and therefore

[10] See the Sermon on the Trinity, Argument 2, p. 370, preceding.

[11] See the Dedication, p. 395, preceding. Ed.]

[12] Elegant. l. 6. c. 34. [c. 451. juxt. Ed. Ascens. (fol. 85.) In Deo autem personam ponimus, vel quod nullum aliud vocabulum quadrat; (non natura, quo Veteres utebantur; non substantia, quo Græci utuntur;) vel quod vere in Deo triplex est qualitas. .... Dico lucem, vibrationem, calorem in sole esse qualitates, &c. Tales qualitates statuo in Deo, et has dico esse personas, quæ ab eo abesse non possunt; et qualitatem significare, non substantiam, ut Boëtius [al. Boëthius] voluit, qui nos barbare loqui docuit.—See also the Sermon on the Trinity, p. 365, n. 4.

I shall choose to give it in his own words [13], which are these. 'The fanatic Servetus,' says he, 'plays upon an equivocal sense of the word *person;* and pretends that it anciently signified amongst the Latins no more but either *a mode* or *the distinction of an office:* as we say Roscius sometimes sustains the person of Achilles, sometimes the person of Ulysses; or the person of a consul differs from the person of a servant: in like manner as Cicero says, *It is a great work to sustain the person of a prince in the commonwealth.* And this ancient signification of the word *person* he sophistically wrests and applies to the article of the Three Persons in the Godhead.' Upon which the same Melancthon takes occasion to reflect in this most pathetic exhortation to his readers: *Sed has impias præstigias fugiamus et execremur, et sciamus in hoc articulo aliter loqui Ecclesiam, et personam dici, substantiam individuam intelligentem et incommunicabilem.*

I shall make no further remark upon this history, but only add that Servetus was burnt at Geneva for this heresy in the year 1553, though his doctrine has been since more plausibly urged by Keckerman [14] and others without any such like censure.

4. The fourth and last heresy which undermines our Saviour's true Divinity is Tritheism; which is the asserting of three infinite collateral and co-ordinate Persons; or three absolute independent Principles, all simply unoriginate and unbegotten, without any mutual relation or subordination to any first Person. Thus it is Tritheism to ascribe the personal prerogative of the Father, *ἀγεννησίαν,* to the Son, making him a distinct principle or substance *unbegotten* as the Father is. The true notion of the Christian Trinity is three Divine Per-

[13] Loc. Theolog. Tractat. de Person. (Oper. t. 1. fol. 151 vers.) Lusit homo fanaticus, Servetus, de vocabulo *personæ*, et disputat olim Latinis significasse habitum aut officii distinctionem: ut dicimus Roscium alias sustinere personam Achillis, alias sustinere personam Ulyssis; seu alia est persona consulis, alia servi: ut Cicero inquit, *Magnum est in republica tueri personam principis*, et hanc veterem significationem vocabuli sycophantice detorquet ad articulum de Tribus Personis Trinitatis. Sed has impias, &c.

[14] [He was a learned Calvinistic divine. He was born at Dantzic, in Prussia, in 1571, and afterwards became a professor in the academy of that town. He died in 1609. His works are published in two volumes, folio, Geneva, 1614. See Darling's Cyclopædia Bibliographica, Lond. 1854. col. 1709. ED.]

sons under the relation and economy of a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; where the Father is considered as the fountain of the Deity, the Son and Holy Ghost as the natural and eternal emanations of the Father's substance; agreeable to what is said in the Nicene Creed, that the Son is God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God,—*Deus genitus*, not *ingenitus* nor *factus*,—whereas Tritheism asserts that the Son is another ἀγέννητον, that is, not a Son, but another distinct principle or substance, unbegotten as the Father is, and consequently a distinct God. For Τρεῖς Ἀρχαὶ and Τρία Ἀγέννητα, *Three coordinate* and *unbegotten Principles*, inferring necessarily Three Creators and Three Providences independent of one another, is, in the sense of the primitive Fathers, the proper notion of Three Gods.

What modern authors have directly in terms maintained this heresy, I am not able to say. That which seems to come the nighest to it is that bold determination made in the Council of Lateran [15], under Innocent the Third, where it was determined in favour of Peter Lombard against Richardus de Sancto Victore [16], that the *Divine Essence does neither beget nor is begotten, nor does proceed. Essentia Divina nec est generans, neque genita, nec procedens.* The consequence of which would be, if it was urged home, that the divine substance of the Son is unbegotten; and consequently that the Son is not a son, but another unbegotten principle, that is, a distinct God.

This doctrine which denies the generation of the divine sub-

[15] [C. Lateran. 4. anno 1215. c. 2. (t. 11. p. 144 b.) Damnamus ergo et reprobamus libellum, sive tractatum, quem Abbas Joachim edidit contra magistrum Petrum Lombardum de Unitate seu Essentia Trinitatis, appellans ipsum hæreticum et insanum pro eo, quod in suis dixit Sententiis, quoniam quædam Summa Res est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, et illa non est generans, neque genita, nec procedens. Ed.]

[16] That which seems to have given occasion to the Council of Lateran to make this decree, was this expression of Richard de Sancto Victore, in his Sixth Book *De Trinitate*, c. 22. (Venet. 1592. p. 277 e. 8.) *Absque dubio substantia Filii est genita, substantia Patris ingenita, nec ingenita substantia est genita, nec genita est ingenita:* together with his smart reflection upon Peter Lombard and others, as innovators in this matter, challenging them to produce but so much as one single passage of any Catholic Father that ever maintained (what they did) that the substance of the Son was unbegotten, and not begotten of the substance of the Father: (ibid. d. 3.) *Afferant, si possunt, auctoritatem non dicam plures, sed saltem unam, quæ neget substantiam gignere substantiam.* Richardus, indeed, is not mentioned in the Council; but it is plain they had their eye upon him in the condemnation of his doctrine.

who could determine that bread and
wine, (for this is the same Council th
stantiation,) might with a *non obstan*
Fathers determine likewise that the
begotten Son of God was unbegotten:
tend to determine so, who should pret
From that time therefore the Schoolm
position never heard in the Catholic
Essentia Filii Divina non est genita.
consequence of this assertion; but som
men themselves have charged it with
of Calvin: who only expresses their o
little different[18]: *Quod Filius quatenu*
esse a Patre, nec est Deus de Deo sed l
the very same in sense with *Essentia F*

Now if the Schoolmen will prove Trit
they hardly deserve an advocate to ap
yet thus much I shall say for the sake
not always to be charged even with the
their own opinion, especially when th
disavow it. And therefore though the
this opinion should be Tritheism, or

[17] [A Scotsman by birth, but Rouen i
chiefly educated at Paris, where he sidered t

ught to have so much charity both for Calvin and the Schoolmen, as to believe they never intended to maintain the heresy of *Three infinite unbegotten collateral Principles*, having expressly declared against it. However we may not dismiss the Schoolmen without making these two reflections on their partial behaviour towards Calvin:—First, that the loudest declaimers against heresy are very often, upon inquiry, found to be the nearest to it. Secondly, that men may be so charmed and bigotted to a set of words, that they will even condemn their own very notions, if they be but expressed in different terms by other men.

And thus I have done with the first thing proposed, which was to show who those are that may be said *to deny the Lord that bought them:* by drawing an historical parallel betwixt four ancient and modern heresies, Photinianism, Arianism, Sabellianism, and Tritheism. The two first of these are at present the most prevailing heresies; and therefore I shall spend the rest of this Discourse against them; proceeding in order,—

II. To show that the subtle arts by which they privily endeavour to introduce their errors, are chiefly *these two pretences:*—

First, that many eminent Catholic authors have acknowledged that their doctrines are not contradicted, either in words or sense, by Scripture or Antiquity for the three first centuries after Christ.

Secondly, that though they be erroneous, yet they are not heretical and damnable; as contradicting no article of faith that the Catholic Church ever thought necessary to salvation during the first three hundred years.

These are the ordinary and confident pretences of our late Arian and Photinian writers. And indeed it cannot be denied but that many who would be thought no friends to these heresies have yet accidentally at least proved the main supporters of this confidence, and have done their principal business for them.

For, as to the first pretence, that their doctrines are not contradicted by Scripture or Antiquity: the authors of the Roman communion, in their extravagant zeal for the authority of the Church and the power of General Councils to make new

articles of faith, have not scrupled to assert that the Divinity of our Saviour and the doctrine of the Trinity are neither defensible from the authority of Scripture nor the writings of the primitive Fathers, from the days of the Apostles down to the Council of Nice. Mr. Chillingworth[18] did long ago object this very thing to his Romish adversary; and it were easy upon occasion to confirm his suggestion by multitudes of undeniable proofs, were the matter of any such importance. At present I need only say that Huetius[19] and Petavius[20], two of the greatest authors of the Roman communion, have scarce let any one primitive Father go uncensured for Arianism: and in that have done more for the Arian cause than all the Arians in the world, ancient or modern, ever yet could do for themselves. Nor have many Protestant authors, in a contrary zeal for the doctrine of the Church's fallibility, or perhaps rather for want of understanding the true meaning of the ancient hypothesis, been more favourable or impartial in their censures of the primitive Fathers: sometimes condemning the Ante-Nicenes as Arians, and the Post-Nicenes as Tritheites, as Curcellæus[21] and other late authors have done. And though Protestant writers do generally express a greater reverence for Scripture, yet Erasmus and the author of the posthumous Annotations under the name of Grotius (for it is to be hoped they were none of his) have interpreted away many of the most considerable texts that make for the Divinity of our Saviour. So that it must be owned that these heresies have received but too much countenance from the unwary concessions of Catholic authors. The allowing that the primitive Fathers were of their opinion gives them reason to think the Scriptures are so too; and that confirms them in the belief that they themselves are the true professors of the primitive faith.

In this opinion they are still the more confirmed by the concessions of others, who, though they seem to disavow their opinions as heterodox, yet however think them innocent and

[18] [See the Preface to The Religion of Protestants, ss. 16–18. (Reprint, Lond. 1836. p. 10.)

[19] See his *Origeniana*, at the end of the fourth volume of Delarue's edition of Origen's Works, Paris, 1759.

[20] See his *Libri de Trinitate* among the *Dogmata Theologica*. Oper. t. 2. Venet. 1757.

[21] See *De Vocibus Trinitatis*, as before, p. 401, n. 7, preceding. Ed.]

tolerable; and accordingly so far turn advocates for them as to plead for the authors as brethren that ought to be admitted into the communion of the Catholic Church. Episcopius and Curcellæus[22] are the great patrons of this opinion: and in favour of it pretend to prove both from Scripture and Antiquity the non-necessity of believing the doctrine of our Saviour's eternal generation from the Father.

Now then we need not stand amazed to think that men, who are otherwise ignorant enough, should hence take heart and confidence, having such mighty pillars to support them. Whilst two such names as Grotius and Erasmus can be alleged against the most considerable texts of Scripture, it is no wonder men of a sinking cause should lay hold of their authorities and pretend ancient readings for their modern heresies. And whilst two such learned antiquaries as Huetius and Petavius have so severely played the critics upon the primitive Fathers, it was but natural for the Arian party to make use of their concessions, and raise their own credit upon the ruins of Antiquity. And when we consider again in what vogue and authority Episcopius[23] and Curcellæus[24] have been, we need as little wonder that some should be infected with their poisoned reasonings, and sleep secure in damnable heresy, having such plausible advocates to defend them. This I presume is a very fair account that may be given of the present subtle growth of Arianism and Photinianism in these latter ages.

Now it were to be wished indeed that the unwary concessions of so many learned men had not given such advantage to the common adversary, as either to harden them in a false belief, or make them pretend to attack the Catholic faith as it

[22] [As before, in his book *De Vocibus Trinitatis*, p. 401, n. 7, preceding.

[23] He was an Arminian in doctrine, having become acquainted with Arminius and embraced his opinions when a student at Leyden, where he was Professor of Divinity in 1612. He was expelled in 1618 by the Synod of Dort, but became Rector of the Remonstrant College at Amsterdam in 1634. Died in 1643. He wrote largely in favour of the Remonstrants. See his Opera Theologica, Lond. 1678. 2 tom. fol. Ed. Sec. Hammond is said to have borrowed largely from him, and Archbishop Tillotson also has been considered as one of his followers.

[24] Also an Arminian. Born at Geneva in 1586. He eventually succeeded Episcopius in the chair at the Remonstrant College at Amsterdam. He died in 1658. He was an able critic and linguist. Ed.]

were upon its own ground and with its own weapons. But since such dangerous breaches have been made upon the two great bulwarks of Christianity, Scripture and Antiquity, by means of these concessions, it will at least become those who profess to believe the Divinity of Christ to be as careful in securing, as others are subtle in undermining, the prime foundations of the Catholic faith. And therefore in opposition to the first of these concessions and the vain pretence that is built upon them, I proceed,—

III. To show that, notwithstanding any concessions of Catholic authors, the Arian and Photinian doctrines are contrary to the plainest and most indubitable [testimonies] of Scripture and primitive writers for the three first ages after Christ.

1. To prove out of Scripture that they are false doctrines, I will endeavour to make this proposition appear: viz. That upon supposition only that the Scripture had designed to say, that our Saviour was truly God, it could not have expressed itself in more significant and emphatical terms to that purpose than it now has done: consequently, we have as much proof for the truth of our Saviour's Divinity as the nature of the thing is capable of, or as we can have for the truth of any proposition of this nature: which, with unprejudiced men, is a very sufficient reason for believing it.

To make this appear to be so, we must first inquire, what are those peculiar terms and characters by which it is possible to describe a divine nature, and distinguish it from all other beings; and then show that these are properly applied to our Saviour.

Now these, perhaps, upon the strictest inquiry, cannot be conceived to be any other than some of these five sorts:

1. Either the proper names and appellations of God; or,

2. The incommunicable attributes and properties of such a being; or,

3. The operations and actions that belong peculiarly to such a nature; or,

4. That peculiar honour and adoration which is solely to be paid to the Sovereign Being; or,

5. That which is commonly called the formal notion and definition of a divine nature.

These are the proper and only ways to describe a divine

nature by: so that if it be possible to distinguish a divine nature from all others by such peculiar characters, (and no one certainly will pretend to call that in question,) then if our Saviour be described in Scripture under all these peculiar characters of a divine nature, he must be verily and truly God. At least we have as great proof of his being so, as the nature of the thing is capable of, or as is possible to be given: and it would be highly unreasonable to desire more. For this is as much proof for our Saviour's Divinity (supposing him to be described under these characters) as we have for his humanity. If we were to prove him to be a man, we could only do it by showing that he is described under all the characters of human nature. And if his being described under the characters of God will not prove him to be God, neither will his being described under the characters of man prove him to be a real man. Therefore those primitive heretics, who denied his humanity, were altogether as reasonable as those who now dispute his Divinity: for the case and proofs being alike in both, he who pretends to question one, may by the very same reason question both. For now we can show that we have as much reason to believe our Saviour to be God as to be man; because he is described under all the characters of a divine as well as human nature.

1. He is properly and without restriction styled God.

2. All the incommunicable attributes and properties of such a being are ascribed to him.

3. All the actions likewise belonging to a divine nature.

4. That worship and adoration which is solely due to God.

5. Lastly he is described under the formal notion and definition of a divine nature.

The time will not permit me to insist upon all these, and therefore I will endeavour to make good that which will the most indisputably prove our Saviour to be God; viz. His being described under *the formal notion and definition of a divine nature.*

And here we must first inquire what is the proper notion of a divine nature. Now this, so far as we can frame an idea of divinity either by the help of reason or revelation, consists in these two things:—First, that God is a being of necessary and eternal existence, not precarious or depending upon the will

and pleasure of any other for his being. Second, that he is the arbitrary cause of all other beings, which may be or not be according to the will and pleasure of him who makes them be. These are the first and principal notions we can have of God: and it is what our adversaries themselves allow to be a true description of a divine nature, as well in revelation as in reason. For as the Platonist, who speaks the voice of nature, defines God to be *Mens æterna et Causa boni in natura;* so God in Scripture, when he describes himself, does it by those very characters:—First, that he is the Ὁ Ὤν, "I am that I am," the Being that eternally exists, the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last. Secondly, that he is the God who made the world. So that if we can prove, first, that our Saviour is an eternal being of necessary existence; and, secondly, that he made the world; we prove every thing to the Socinian that he requires of us. This indeed will not content the Arian, who will sometimes own that Christ is both eternal and the maker of the world, and yet deny that he is God. But if men will be so unreasonable as to maintain perfect contradictions; and assert that the properest idea of a divine nature belongs to Christ, and yet after all that he is not of a divine nature; we are not obliged to convince such men, whose understandings run counter to common sense, and are proof against all conviction.

It shall suffice therefore to show, *that our Saviour is an eternal necessary existing being*, and *that he made the world;* consequently *that he is of a divine nature.*

To prove these two things from Scripture, though many unanswerable texts might be alleged, I shall only cite two, but they shall be such as will admit of no evasion. The one infallibly proves him to be a being of necessary existence, and the other as clearly evinces that the world was made by him.

1st. His necessary eternal existence is irrefragably deduced from our Saviour's own character of himself, (John 5, 26,) which is, "that as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given the Son to have life in himself!" Here by *the Father's having life in himself* in the former clause, is undoubtedly meant *that eternal necessary existence which is the proper life of God:* all other beings, though they do now exist, being only of an arbitrary and precarious existence that once

had no being, and may, by the same power that first created them, be again reduced to their primitive nothing. But now the text tells us, the life of Christ is not of this latter kind, but such a life as is the life of God. And that *that* is *necessary eternal existence*, it is to be hoped no one that owns any God at all will pretend to deny. So that if we will believe our Saviour himself, his own existence is no less necessary and eternal than that of the Father; only with this difference, that the Father has this necessary existence not only in himself, but from himself: the Son not from himself, but as the notion of a Son implies, by eternal origination from the Father.

2nd. The other passage, proving him to be the Creator of the world, is that famous allegation of the author to the Hebrews, (chap. 1, vers. 10, 11, 12,) where what the Psalmist undoubtedly speaks of the Creator, is taken by the Apostle and properly applied to our Saviour. "Thou, LORD[24], in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands: they shall perish, but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt thou fold them, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." This strikes at the very root of Arianism, and proves at once both that our Saviour is the Creator of the world, and that he is of an eternal necessary existence, immutable and unchangeable in his nature. He is not himself a creature, as Arius pretended, ἀλλοωτὸς, or *mutabiliter factus*, but that LORD, who in the beginning laid the foundations of the earth, and who shall hereafter change it again; that LORD who for ever continues the same, and whose years cannot fail.

Nor can the Socinians deny but that here the Apostle speaks of the old creation. Only they would have it, that our Saviour is not here said to be *the efficient*, but only *the final cause* of the world. Ἐθεμελίωσας, i. e., *Causa fuisti cur fundaretur: et opus manuum tuarum, id est, propter te factum ... quia constabat inter Hebræos mundum hunc Messiæ causa conditum.* So the author under the name of Grotius[25]. But if such forced interpretations may be allowed to pass upon

[24] [JEHOVAH in the original, the incommunicable name of GOD.

[25] In Heb. 1, 10–12. (Lond. 1679. t. 3. p. 1013.) Rursum, quod de Deo dictum fuerat, Messiæ aptat, quia constabat inter Hebræos, &c. ED.]

plain words, it will be impossible to prove any thing in the world. We prove to the Socinians out of John 1, 3, that "all things were made by Christ, and without him was not any thing made that was made:" and out of Col. 1, 16, that "by him all things were created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers:" and then they tell us, this is only meant of the metaphorical new-creation under the Gospel. We prove to them again from this passage of the Hebrews, that our Saviour is the author of the first and old creation: and then they tell us, he is not the proper cause of the world, but only the cause why it was made. Now at this rate of interpreting Scripture we can have no certainty of the sense of words, but may as well say, that man is the creator of the world, because the world was made for his sake; or that there was no creation at all, because the First of Genesis, by the help of a thing called metaphor, may be interpreted away as well as the First of St. John. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," according to the Socinian way of interpreting Scripture will be no more but this;—In the beginning, i. e., when there was a necessity of new regulating the world, God, i. e., kings and princes, or some mighty monarchs who are called gods in Scripture, created, i. e., new modelled and disciplined, heaven and earth, i. e., the savage and untractable world of men. And so the old creation is wholly superseded and set aside by this new invented art of criticism!

But now Melancthon's reflection[26] is here again very seasonable: *Has impias præstigias fugiamus et execremur, et sciamus in hoc articulo aliter Ecclesiam loqui!* The Catholic Church never allowed such forced interpretations of plain words, but always believed our Saviour to be that Eternal necessary existing Being who made the world, which leads me to the second part of the first assertion, viz.

2. To show that the Divinity of our Saviour was maintained as a most certain truth in the three first ages of the Church.

This, would the time permit, might easily be demonstrated, by showing that all the five forementioned characters of a divine nature are properly and without the least amphibology ascribed to him by the primitive writers. For,

[26] See before, p. 404, n. 13.

First, they always absolutely and without restriction style him *God*. This is so well known, that the Heathens objected it to them; which they never denied, but still always owned him for their God.

Secondly, they ascribe unto him all the peculiar attributes of a divine nature, *omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, &c.*

Thirdly, the most proper and essential actions of God, as *the power of forgiving sins:* telling us at the same time that no one can forgive sins but God.

Fourthly, they worshipped him with divine honour of all sorts, as well with internal acts of faith, hope, trust, as the external acts of invocation, adoration, doxology, and thanksgiving. This is so well known to have been their practice, and withal that it was their doctrine, that no creature whatsoever was to be worshipped, but only God, (because it is idolatry to worship any thing which by nature is not God,) that he must have a very mean opinion of all the primitive Fathers, who can think they should so palpably condemn themselves of gross idolatry, as they must needs do upon their own principles, if they gave divine honour to Christ, whilst they did not believe him to be God. This argument is so full and strong, that we may challenge all the Socinians in the world to give it the least shadow of an answer.

Fifthly, they assert, that he is essentially God, and describe him under the formal notion and definition of a divine nature, as that eternal necessarily existent Being that made the world. Which is the only thing at present I am concerned to show. And this I shall do very briefly, by producing a few clear passages out of the most ancient and authentic writers, which interpret literally all those places of Scripture that make the essence of Christ consist in necessarily eternal existence, and ascribe unto him the creation of the world.

First, I begin with *creation.*

1. St. Barnabas and Hermes Pastor are two of the most ancient authors we have remaining: and they both ascribe the creation to our Saviour. St. Barnabas[27] says, it was Christ to whom God the Father said, (Gen. 1,) "Let us make man;" and

[27] Ep. c. 4. pp. 218 et 219. Ed. Voss. Amstel. 1646. 4to. (Cotel. c. 6. t. 1. p. 19.) Λέγει γὰρ ἡ Γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ Υἱῷ, Ποιήσωμεν, κ. τ. λ.

that *the sun is the work of his hands,*—ἥλιον ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

2. In like manner Hermes Pastor[28]: *Totus ab eo sustentatur orbis, et omnis Dei creatura per Filium ejus sustentatur. The whole world is sustained by him, and every creature of God is upheld by his Son.*

3. These apostolical men knew nothing of the modern sophistry of a metaphorical creation, or of Christ's being only the final cause of the old world, and that is a good proof to us that these new interpreters speak not the sense of the Apostles.

4. In the next age we have, first, Justin Martyr, who in his Epistle to Diognetus[29] styles our Saviour τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, *the contriver and maker of all things.* Again, both in his First[30] and Second Apology[31], he tells us that God did διὰ Λόγου τὸν κόσμον ποιῆσαι, *create the world by the Logos,* or *Word,* by which St. John says all things were made.

5. Next after him, Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in his Second Book to Autolycus[32], tells us that God *made all things by him,*—δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα πεποιήκεν, and that he is called ἀρχὴ, *the beginning* or *ruler and governor* of all things, because *he rules and moderates all the works which he himself made,*—ὅτι ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει πάντων τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ δεδημιουργημένων. And here we may observe that Theophilus, with many others of the Ancients, did so interpret the First of Genesis as to make *In Principio* to be the same with *In Filio.* "In the beginning God made heaven and earth;" that is, say many of the Ancients, God the Father by the Son made the world. Hence Ἀρχὴ and *Principium* became proper names of the Son of God, as well as *Logos,* because he was the author and principle of all things.

6. Thus Origen, in his Comment upon the First of Genesis[33]: *Quod est omnium Principium nisi Dominus noster et Salvator omnium Jesus Christus, primogenitus omnis creaturæ? In hoc ergo Principio, hoc est, in Verbo suo, Deus cœlum et terram*

[28] L. 3. Simil. 9. (Cotel. t. 1. p. 116.)
[29] Ep. ad Diognet. (p. 98 c.)
[30] Apol. 1. (p. 44 d.)
[31] Apol. 2. (p. 97 b.)
[32] Ad Autolycum. (Ed. Oxon. 1684. 12mo. p. 81.) Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἔχων ὑπουργὸν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, κ. τ. λ.
[33] In Gen. 1. (Ed. Ascens. t. 1. fol. 1.)

fecit. To the same purpose he there applies the words of St. John, "All things were made by him;" and then concludes[34],—*Non ergo hic temporale aliquod principium dicit; sed in Principio, id est, in Salvatore, factum esse dicit cœlum et terram, et omnia quæ facta sunt.*

6. Nay, some of them went so far as to assert that it was written in the Hebrew original, "By the Son God made heaven and earth." St. Jerom, in his Questions upon Genesis[35], cites three authors for this opinion; Tertullian, in his Book against Praxeas; St. Hilary, in his Comment upon the Psalms; and the author of the Dispute betwixt Jason and Papiscus, who is a very ancient writer, commended by Origen in his Fourth Book[36] against Celsus. Now, whether either this reading or the interpretation be true, is none of our present concern: the only thing we observe at present is this, that the primitive Fathers of the three first centuries were so fully persuaded that our Saviour was the Creator of the world that they thought they could deduce it out of the First of Genesis, which Socinus himself must needs allow to be meant of the first creation.

7. I might here go on to add many other authors of the second and third centuries remaining yet behind, viz. Athenagoras, Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Dionysius Alexandrinus, Dionysius Romanus, Novatian, Arnobius, and Lactantius: of all whom we can safely say that they interpret all the passages of Scripture, which prove our Saviour to be the Creator of the world, to the very same sense which we now put upon them. And further, we may challenge the most learned Socinian in the world to produce us but any one single passage of any one Catholic author that ever maintained, what they now do, that our Saviour is only the author of the new creation and no more but the final cause of the old world.

Now this being the difference betwixt us and the Socinians, that we have the plain sense of Scripture on our side, and the concurrent judgment of all wise and sober men for sixteen whole centuries together: whilst they are forced to offer the

[34] Ibid. (paulo infra.)

[35] Quæst. in Gen. 1, 1. (Oper. t. 3. p. 306.) Plerique existimant, &c.

[36] [Num. 52. juxt. Ed. Benedict. Paris. 1733. t. 1. p. 544. Ed.]

greatest violence to Scripture, and wrest plain words to a most unnatural sense, to defend an hypothesis which was never maintained by any one Catholic author: we think we have all imaginable reason to conclude that our Saviour is, in the most proper sense, the Creator of the world. Consequently, by the Socinians' own confession, he must be the Very and Eternal God; since they themselves own that God and Creator are convertible terms, and differ no otherwise than as the definition and thing defined, which always mutually imply and infer one another.

Secondly, the writers of the three first centuries are universally agreed, not only that our Saviour is the Creator of the world, who gives an arbitrary, precarious, and contingent being to all other things; but also that he himself is an eternal, necessarily existent Being, who depends upon the will and pleasure of no other for his being, but is wholly immutable and unchangeable in his nature. This has been fully and unanswerably made out by the learned Dr. Bull in his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*[37], which will stand as an eternal confutation of Arianism, notwithstanding the little attempts that have been made against it. Therefore I shall only here add a passage or two by way of comment upon St. John's words [5, 26,] "As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself," to show that the Ancients understood those words in the same sense we now do; viz. that the life and being of the Son is not the precarious contingent being of the creature, but that essential necessary immutable life and existence which is the proper life of God.

1. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians[38], styles him *the true life*, ζωὴ ἀληθινὴ, and exempts him in his Divine Nature from the order of the creatures, calling him both γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, *factus et non factus, created as man, uncreated as God*. Now true life and life uncreated is doubtless essential life, or life in himself, as St. John styles it. This passage is the more illustrious because of the antiquity of its author and his

[37] [Which he terms in his Sermon on the Trinity *an incomparable and immortal work*. See before, p. 378, n. 22. Ed.]

[38] Sect. 7. p. 21. Ed. Voss. Amstel. 1646. 4to. [Cotel. v. 2. p. 13. Ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ [MS. habet ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῆ (sic: ι non subscribitur.) Legendum autem esse ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινὴ viderunt Editores, &c. Vid. Jacobson ad l. c. t. 2. p. 272. Ed.]

acquaintance with the Apostles. Nor can any one reasonably question its being genuine, because it is now found in the Florentine Greek published by Vossius, and in the old Latin translations published by Bishop Usher[39], and it is cited by three ancient authors of unquestionable credit, Athanasius, Gelasius, and Theodoret, all agreeing in substance, without any material variation.

2. To Ignatius may be added another piece of venerable Antiquity, whoever was the author of it, viz. *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, as it is called[40], a treatise written in the second century by a Christian, at least a Judaizing Christian, as learned men have determined. There Symeon, one of the Patriarchs, is introduced prophesying of the Messias in these words,—*Tunc Dominus Deus Magnus Israel apparebit in terra ut homo, et salvabit in ipso Adam: Then shall the Great God of Israel appear upon earth as a man, and save mankind thereby.* This, whether it be the speech of a Jew or a Christian, is certainly a very pregnant proof of the author's faith, and shows that he believed the Messias should be the Eternal God: for doubtless the Great God of Israel can be no other but the Eternal God, the Ὁ Ὤν, or Jehovah, whose very essence is existence or life in himself.

3. Justin Martyr expressly tells us in one place, (Parænes. ad Græc.[41]) 'that the God which appeared to Moses in the bush was the Ὁ Ὤν, *the Living and True God.*' And yet both he and all the Ante-Nicene Fathers agree that it was God the Son who appeared to Moses and the other Patriarchs by way of *præludium* to the incarnation. Now let us put these two things together in form, and they amount to a full proof that

[39] Edit. Lat. Patr. Apost. Oxon. 1643. 4to. Vid. Ep. Ignat. ad Ephesios, Oxon. 1642. (p. 197. n. 33.) Unus medicus est carnalis et spiritualis, genitus et ingenitus, in carne factus Deus, in immortali Vita Vera, &c.—[Juxt. Ed. Voss. ut supra (p. 21.).... Θεὸς ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Interpolat. ibid. (p. 125.) Ὁ Λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ Ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ Ἀπαθὴς ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ Ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ Ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, κ.τ.λ. Ed.]

[40] [Nov. Test. Duodec. Patriarch.; ap. Testamentum Symeonis, De Invidia 2. n. 6. (ap. Grab. Spicileg. t. 1. sæc. 1. p. 156.) Τότε Σὴμ ἐνδοξασθήσεται, ὅτι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ φαινόμενος ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, κ.τ.λ. Ed.]

[41] Ad Græc. Cohortat. (p. 19 b.) Ἀκηκοὼς γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Θεὸν τῷ Μωσῇ εἰρηκέναι, Ἐγώ εἰμι Ὁ Ὤν, κ.τ.λ. [See Exod. 3, 14. Compare Joh. 8, 58. Ed.]

our Saviour is the Ὁ Ὤν, or *the Living and Eternal God.* For the argument will be thus:

He that appeared to Moses in the bush is the Living and True God:

Christ is the God that appeared to Moses in the bush:

Therefore, Christ is the Living and True God.

Both the propositions of this argument are the Fathers': therefore, unless we can suppose them to have been the weakest logicians that ever lived, they who give us the premises must needs own the conclusion.

4. I shall but add one author more, that is Origen, who has generally been thought a friend to Arianism, but very unjustly: for in one place he styles our Saviour *Essentiale Bonum*[41], and in another place[42], Αὐτοσοφία, Αὐτολόγος, and Αὐτοαλήθεια, *Essential Wisdom, Essential Reason, and Essential Truth.* And in a third place[43], Ἀθάνατος Θεὸς Λόγος, *the Immortal God,* which is as much as St. Basil's Αὐτοζωὴ[44], and Athanasius's Αὐτοφῶς[45], which certainly are not short of necessary existence or the life of God.

To these it were easy to add many other passages of the same importance: but these I presume are sufficient to show the sense of the primitive writers concerning the life of Christ; that it is not any created, contingent, or precarious being, but an essential necessary existence, such as is the life of God. Whence upon the whole it appears that the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity is the true doctrine both of Scripture and Antiquity,

[41] Περὶ Ἀρχῶν l. 1. c. 5. [Conf. De Principiis, l. 1. c. 5. n. 10 sub fin. (Ed. Bened. t. 1. p. 58 d. e.) Sapientia vero Dei, quæ est Unigenitus Filius ejus, quoniam in omnibus inconvertibilis est et incommutabilis, et substantiale in eo omne bonum est, quod utique mutari atque converti nunquam potest, idcirco pura ejus ac sincera gloria prædicatur. Ed.]

[42] Cont. Cels. l. 3. p. 136. [Vid. l. 6. n. 47 sub fin. (Ed. Bened. ibid. p. 669 f.).... Κεκόλλουται τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ Αὐτολόγῳ, καὶ Αὐτοσοφίᾳ, Αὐτοαλήθειᾳ, καὶ Αὐτοδικαιοσύνῃ. Ed.]

[43] Ibid. l. 4. p. 170. [I do not readily find the precise words, but the term Θεὸς Λογός occurs frequently. Vid. e. g. l. 6. n. 69. (ibid. p. 685 b. c.) Δυσθεώρητος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, κ. τ. λ. et passim. Ed.]

[44] Adv. Eunomium, l. 2. Ed. Paris. 1638. t. 1. p. 740. (Paris. 1839. t. 1. part. 1. p. 351 c.).... Καὶ κατωτέραν τοῦ ἰδίου κινήματος τὴν ζωὴν καταλιπεῖν τῆς αὐτοζωῆς, κ. τ. λ.

[45] Orat. cont. Gent. t. 1. p. 51. [Citante Suicero. (Thes. Eccles. t. 1. p. 580. voce Αὐτοαλήθεια.) Αὐτοσοφία, Αὐτολόγος, Αὐτοδύναμις, Αὐτοφῶς, Αὐτοαλήθεια, Αὐτοδικαιοσύνη, Αὐτοαρετή. Ed.]

both which represent him under the properest notion and idea of a Divine Nature, as an eternal necessarily existent Being who made the world. Consequently, the doctrine which denies the Divinity of our Saviour is a false doctrine, contrary to the plainest and most indubitable sense of Scripture and Antiquity for the three first ages, which was the proposition to be shown.

IV. I am now, in the fourth and last place, to show, that it is not only a false doctrine, but also heretical and damnable; a damnable heresy, that will bring upon the authors swift destruction. This will need little proof, if we reflect but upon what has been said in the first part of this Discourse, that Socinianism is nothing else but the revival of the ancient heresies of Ebion, Artemas, Theodotus, Theodotion, and Paulus Samosatensis; all which were condemned as heretics by the Catholic Church long before the Council of Nice. These are things so well known to all, who are not wholly unacquainted with ecclesiastical history and the state of the Primitive Church, that he must betray either very great ignorance or great partiality, whoever goes about to justify Socinianism upon pretence of its being allowed as an innocent error by the primitive Christians. The learned author of the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*[46] has sufficiently accounted with Episcopius for this pretence, and shown us most accurately and exactly, as the manner of that author is, these three things:—

First, that all the Ante-Nicene Fathers have expressly and positively declared, that the doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity is necessarily to be known and believed in order to salvation.

Secondly, that they anathematized and condemned all as heretics who did not believe it.

Thirdly, that they put it into their Creeds and Compendiums of necessary Articles of Faith.

Which three considerations are undeniable proof, that they looked upon the belief of our Saviour's Divinity to be necessary to salvation. And yet if this argument needed further confirmation, two other considerations might be added:—

Fourthly, that they believed it necessary for man's redemption that God should become incarnate; or that the Mediator,

[46] Dr. Bull. Vid. Ed. Oxon. 1685. 4to. Item inter Opera, Ed. Londin. 1703. fol. Ed.]

who was to reconcile God and man, should be partaker of both natures.

Fifthly, that even to deny his humanity is by them accounted damnable heresy, though a man believe him to have pre-existed in his spiritual nature. Whence we might now strongly infer, that they, who thought it damnable heresy to deny our Saviour's humanity, could not but think it much more so to deny his Divinity; since, if a reverence be to be had to either, certainly the principal regard is to be shown to his Divine Nature.

These things might very seasonably and properly be urged at this juncture, to show the necessity of believing the incarnation and satisfaction made by our Saviour; but the managing of them would require a longer discourse. I shall therefore only make one short reflection upon what has been said, and therewith conclude.

It appears from the premises, that many learned men have mistaken the sense of the primitive Fathers concerning the Divinity of our Saviour, and unjustly accused them of Arianism and Tritheism, to the great prejudice of the Catholic faith. Hence I would infer the great danger of relying wholly upon modern authors, and reading primitive writers with other men's eyes, especially the eyes of the Schoolmen; who, to advance particular hypotheses of their own, have made many dangerous breaches upon the common faith of Christians. The sure and only way to find out truth is to seek it in its first fountains and original Scriptures, interpreted by the best Antiquity. Those are known rules of Vincentius Lirinensis[47],—*Id Catholicum quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;* and Tertullian[48],—*Id verum quod primum.* He that keeps close to these rules may perhaps sometimes swim against the stream of modern authors; but he has this security on his side, that he shall never mistake the common faith of Christians. For, to use the words of a primitive writer[49], 'What Christ himself

[47] Commonitor. c. 2. (Oxon. 1836. p. 6.) In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.

[48] Adv. Praxeam, c. 2. (Ed. Semler. Hal. Magd. 1770. v. 2. p. 147.) Quod peræque adversus universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum sit: *Id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterinum, quodcunque posterius.*

[49] [I do not succeed in discovering the name of the 'primitive

taught, and the Apostles preached, and the Fathers delivered, and the Martyrs confirmed, must needs be the common faith of Christians: and he cannot believe or speak amiss, that believes and speaks as he has been taught by them.' Therefore, to conclude, let us not be shaken by any unwary concessions or false pretences of any modern, however otherwise learned, authors: but first inquire impartially ourselves what the primitive truth was; and then "hold fast the faith which was once delivered to the saints." So shall we neither be "false teachers," nor "bring in damnable heresies," nor "deny the Lord that bought us."

writer' to whom the Author refers. But there is an *idem color* in the third book *De Eucharistiæ Sacramento*, by Guitmundus, archbishop of Aversa in Italy, anno 1066 or 1070, as follows: (ap. Biblioth. Patr. Max. Lugdun. 1677. t. 8. p. 461.) Et quidem Christum incarnari humanæ redemptionis ratio exposcebat, quod futurum Prophetæ prædixerunt, factum Christus ostendit, Apostoli prædicaverunt, mundus credidit, &c. ED.]

BUY THE TRUTH.

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE VISITATION AT WINCHESTER,

SEPT. 16, 1697.

[ORIGINALLY INTENDED AS A SEQUEL TO THE FOREGOING.]

PROV. 23, 23.

Buy the truth, and sell it not.

IT is the observation of the Wise Man whose words we have now repeated, that the purchase of truth and sound wisdom is the most valuable thing in the world. "Happy is the man," says he, "that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies: and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her." (ch. 3, v. 13.)

And in this he seems only to speak in some measure the general sense of mankind. For though many men be deeply engaged in the grossest errors, yet all pretend to have a concern for truth, and to look upon it as their chiefest happiness. So that should we so far abstract from experience as to consider matters only in the theory, one might be tempted to conclude it impossible that there should be any such thing as error in the world. And doubtless it would be so, were there neither wickedness nor weakness in human nature: but by reason of those it commonly fares with truth as it does with happiness and virtue. They have all many pretended admirers, but few real votaries; the beauty is seemingly courted, but the

cloud finally embraced. How eager are men in their inquiries after happiness! And yet, after all, how few do truly understand where their real happiness consists! How much fewer take the measures that are proper for the attainment of it! Nay, as if human nature were condemned to act by contradictions in a pursuit of happiness, they take those very measures that will make them miserable. Just so is it with truth. All men pretend to be searching and inquiring after it; most men are busy, many warm and zealous, and some even furious and contentious in the pursuit of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, ignorance and error often gain as many proselytes as the cause of truth: whilst either the weakness of men's judgments, or the corruption of their morals, inclines them to take wrong measures, they become an easy prey to the Grand Deceiver, who knows as well how to disguise error in the habit of truth, as to "transform himself into an angel of light." Hence it comes to pass that the grossest errors are often plausibly vented and entertained without the least suspicion; and many men show greater zeal for the nominal than others do for real truths.

The experience of all ages confirms the truth of this observation, yet perhaps none ever more than our own; in which error seems to have taken greater heart and confidence only by giving itself some new and flattering names. Now Atheism walks abroad under the specious name of Deism; the enemy of revelation calls himself the man of reason; the Anti-Trinitarian in his own cant is only a zealous defender of the unity of the Godhead; to deny the incarnation is only to speak honourably of the Deity; and to ridicule a mystery is only to believe cautiously by adequate ideas and full comprehensions. Thus error bespeaks men's favour, as trifling writings usually do their readers with a glorious empty name on purpose to deceive them. And it were well if the cheat in both cases were alike inconsiderable; but alas! it is not an empty name that can make us a sufficient recompense for the loss of truth. And therefore the Wise Man's admonition can never be unseasonable, especially at such a juncture: "Buy the truth, and sell it not." For the better understanding which words I shall endeavour to give a plain resolution of *these four inquiries*:—

I. What that truth is we are obliged to buy, since it is certain all truths are not of the same importance?

II. What it is properly to buy the truth, and wherein the purchase of it consists?

III. What are the reasons why, notwithstanding the possibility of attaining truth, so many fail of the attainment of it?

IV. What are the principal rules and cautions to be observed in order to distinguish truth from error?

After which I shall make *a moral reflection or two upon the whole*, and therewith conclude.

I. We are to inquire what that truth is which we are obliged to buy; because all truths are not of the same importance: as will appear by laying down *these four conclusions*:—

1. That it is not mere philosophical truths we are commanded to inquire after. The knowledge of these, indeed, may be very honourable, as arguing a sprightly genius, a piercing wit, and a comprehensive understanding: and if they be such truths as may be instrumental to a better science, they are very useful too. And yet it would be hard to say that the knowledge of them was absolutely necessary, because the greatest part of the world have no opportunity of being acquainted with them. So that we may safely conclude in the first place, that such philosophical truths are no necessary part of that inquiry enjoined us in the text, though by the way the pains which some men take to account for the phenomena of nature, and resolve the mysteries and secrets of it, may justly upbraid both themselves and others, who allow not the least share of their thoughts to consider truths of a far more important nature, which defect is certainly one great cause of error: but of this more by and by.

2. As philosophical truths are not the necessary object of our inquiry, so neither are all the truths of Scripture, for there are some truths we may safely be ignorant of; others which we cannot possibly know, though we make never so strict an inquiry after them. There are many truths of Scripture which learned men, *salva pietate*, have always differed about, and taken the liberty to expound every man in his own sense, without any detriment to the common faith or breach of Christian charity. And of such truths a man may safely be ignorant: or else who could be saved.

Again, there are other truths in Scripture which we cannot possibly know, though we make never so strict an inquiry

after them. And it is so far from being our duty to know these, that it is our duty not to know them: I mean not to be too curious, prying, or inquisitive into the deep things of God, which no man knows nor can know till God shall think fit to make a clearer revelation of them. It was an excellent saying of Scaliger's to this purpose[1]: *Non velle scire, quæ Magister Maximus docere non vult, erudita inscitia est: It is a most learned piece of ignorance not to be willing to know what our Great Master has no where been pleased to reveal.* Our Saviour himself seems to have taught us this humility and poverty of spirit by his own example. For as he was in the form of a servant, he was content to let his human nature for some time be ignorant of the day of judgment. So the Catholic consent of all antiquity has interpreted that passage of St. Mark, (13,32,) "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." And Irenæus[2] particularly applies it against the vanity of the Gnostics of his age, who pretended to an universal knowledge, to be much wiser than the Apostles, and to be perfectly acquainted with the *spiritalia* and *supercœlestia*, as they called them, the divine secrets and mysteries of heaven.

But now the Wise Man is so far from encouraging our search after any such truths as these, that he tells us in another place[3] it is very dangerous meddling with them. *Scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria*[4]. And indeed such inquiries, if we observe it, commonly prove only like Pliny's search of the burning mountain, who perished in the flames,

[1] [I do not discover the place in the writings of either Scaliger where the passage occurs.

[2] Adv. Hæres. l. 2. c. 48. (Ed. Oxon. 1702. p. 176.) Irrationabiliter autem inflati, audaciter inenarrabilia Dei mysteria scire vos dicitis; quando quidem et Dominus, ipse Filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum Patrem, manifeste docens: *De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque Filius, nisi Pater solus.*

[3] See Prov. 25, 27, according to the rendering of the Vulgate: *Sicut qui mel multum comedit, non est ei bonum, sic qui scrutator est majestatis opprimetur a gloria.*

[4] Compare Gray's Progress of Poetry, (part 3, strophe 1,) with reference to Milton and the fact of his becoming blind:—

'Nor second he, that rode sublime
Upon the seraph wings of ecstasy,
The secrets of the abyss to spy.
He passed the flaming bounds of space and time:
The living throne, the sapphire blaze,
Where angels tremble while they gaze,
He saw; but *blasted with excess of light,*
Closed his eyes in endless night.'
Ed.]

whilst he was too busy in searching out the causes of them[5]. It is but natural for men whose thoughts are wholly taken up with towering speculations, to neglect the more necessary parts of knowledge and moral duties: and then, like that other philosopher's inquest, who perished by minding more the course of the stars in heaven than his own steps upon earth[6], all such kinds of searches must needs prove fatal to the inquirers. Though they, with Capernaum, "exalt themselves to heaven;" yet when the scrutiny of judgment has examined their pretences to it, they will in like manner be "thrust down to hell;" therefore these cannot be the truths the Wise Man bids us inquire after: since we can hardly purchase them but at the certain expense of our souls, which is too dear a price to be paid for them.

3. To resolve this inquiry positively, as we have hitherto done it negatively, the truths we are obliged to inquire after are principally those which we cannot be ignorant of without hazarding both our own and other men's salvation. I call them truths in the plural, because of the attempts of a late admired author, who is willing to confine all to one single article, that Jesus is the Messias. Against whom it were easy to show, were it here necessary, that baptism was never administered in the Christian Church without the explicit belief of many other articles: particularly the belief of Three Divine Persons; the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins, grounded upon the satisfaction of a Mediator both God and Man, together with the belief of a resurrection from the dead and an eternal judgment; which are articles that some men have no mind to be tied up to, though the Author to the Hebrews[7] sums most of them up under the title of "the principles of the doctrine of

[5] [Pliny the Elder perished by suffocation during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the year 79, when Herculaneum was overwhelmed by streams of molten lava, and Pompeii as well as Stabiæ by the seaside were buried beneath heaps of hot ashes and *scoriæ*. Pliny the Younger, writing to his friend Tacitus, (l. 6, Ep. 16,) gives a most interesting account of the eruption, as well as of his uncle's death.

[6] Diogenes Laertius relates in his first book, (Lond. 1664. p. 8 f.) that Thales the Milesian, while contemplating the stars, fell into a ditch; upon which an aged woman that attended him exclaimed, as naturally enough she might, *How canst thou know what is doing in the heavens, when thou seest not what is at thy feet?* Σὺ γὰρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴει γνώσεσθαι;—See also Stobæus, Serm. 78. De Diis et Physiologia. (Antw. 1575. p. 463. 51.)

[7] See ch. 1. vv. 1 and 2. Ed.]

Christ," and the Scripture speaks of them as of the essentials and fundamentals of Christianity, without which no man can either be a Christian, or have any title under the Gospel economy to the kingdom of heaven.

4. Lastly, after the essentials of Christianity, we are also obliged to make inquiry after those truths which concern the perfection of it. For Christianity is a regular edifice, and no complete structure consists merely of a foundation. Therefore, besides the fundamentals of Christianity, there are other truths to be inquired after; which though they be not so absolutely necessary as the former, yet they are necessary in order to bring us to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

Though here, both with respect to the foundation and superstructure, it will be very necessary to distinguish Catholic verities from the ordinary proofs of them. It is never allowable to question the truth of an article of faith, but yet it may often be reasonable to dispute, whether such or such a text of Scripture be a solid proof of it. For instance, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity is allowed by all good Catholics to be a Catholic verity; and yet many learned men have, not without good reason, questioned, whether it could be solidly proved out of the First of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Many of the ancients, St. Hilary and St. Austin among the rest, thought that *In Principio* was the same with *In Filio*[8]; and that hence it might be proved that the Son of God was the Creator of heaven and earth. Peter Lombard, and the Schoolmen after him, prove the Trinity another way: they take *Elohim*, the original word for *God* in that text, to be a plural, and to denote *Three Persons* in the Godhead. But Cajetan[9], Drusius[10], and Calvin[11], and the generality of learned men, both Romish and Reformed, after them, reject both these as forced interpretations. And yet it

[8 See the Sermon on the Divinity of Christ, p. 416. nn. 32, seqq.

9 Vid. Comment. in Libr. Histor. Vet. Test. (Lugdun. 1639. fol.)

10 Vid. Veterum Interpretum Græcorum in totum Vet. Test. Fragmenta. (Arnhemiæ, 1622. 4to.)—Item ap. Criticos Sacros, q. v.

11 In Gen. 1, 1. (Ed. Amstel. 1671. t. 1. p. 2.) Habetur apud Mosem אלהים, nomen pluralis numeri: unde colligere solent hic in Deo notari tres personas; sed quia parum solida mihi videtur tantæ rei probatio, ego in voce non insistam. Quin potius monendi sunt lectores, ut sibi a violentis ejusmodi glossis caveant. Ed.]

would be hard to charge these men with rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, only because they reject this text as an incompetent proof of it. Therefore Catharin is justly censured by Sixtus Senensis[12] and others of his own order[13], as an uncharitable disputatious person, for charging Cajetan with denying the doctrine of the Trinity, when it was so evident his only design was to establish it upon a more solid foundation: which is so far from denying it, that it is really to do it the greater service; as he who brings but one solid argument in favour of any thesis, does thereby greater justice to his cause than he who brings forty bad ones.

I suppose from these conclusions we have a plain resolution of the first inquiry, What that truth is we are obliged to buy?

II. The next inquiry is, What it is properly to buy that truth, and wherein the purchase of it consists?

Here I suppose it too obvious to need observing that "buying the truth" is only a metaphorical expression, and not to be understood in a literal sense; therefore it must denote a man's using his best endeavours to obtain it, so as he may be properly said to have made truth his own propriety by being able to give a rational account of it. Now no man, I think, can be said to have made truth his own, so as to be able to give a rational account of it, till he has done these two things:—First, till he has got such a competent notion and knowledge of the thing to be believed as will enable him to give the determinate sense and meaning of it. Secondly, till he knows it upon such solid grounds and evidences as are proper to build a rational assent upon. For men may know Scripture words and Catholic

[12] [Vid. ap. Biblioth. Sanct. t. 2. c. 5. Annot. 1. (Venet. 1574. p. 7.) Thomas Cajetanus, presbyter cardinalis, in principio Commentariorum in Genesim, explicans cur Moses in primis Geneseos verbis Deum plurali numero appellaverit אלוהים, *Heloim*, hoc est *Deus*, inquiens, In principio, &c.—The whole passage, though worth perusing, is too long for insertion here: but, after stating Cajetan's view with respect to the use of the term, he refutes Catharin, [Ambrose, archbishop of Consa in 1551,] and blames him for his unjust remarks on the Cardinal, as intimated by the Author in the text.

[13] He was originally, in 1540–50, a Franciscan; but after his condemnation by the Inquisition for Judaizing errors, and his restoration upon recanting, he was admitted into the order of the Dominicans. He died in 1569.—Ambrosius Catharin wrote a book against Thomas de Vio, commonly called Cardinal Cajetan, in which he objected against him two hundred errors. See an extract in Matthew Flaccius or Illyricus, in his book entitled, De Sectis Papisticis, &c. Basil. 1565. 4to. Ed.]

expressions, and yet be never the nearer knowing the Catholic faith, unless they know the determinate sense and meaning of those expressions. For truth is not mere words, but the sense and meaning of words. Therefore to believe a truth without a competent notion of it is only to believe words without sense, and to pretend to know without knowledge. And again, to know the determinate meaning of any truth or proposition without knowing the grounds and reasons of it is at best but to believe without certainty and to know without reason. Therefore faith in this case is not to be separated from reason and knowledge; for a rational faith, such as Christianity certainly is, always presupposes a rational knowledge: and a rational knowledge supposes again both a competent idea of the thing to be known, and also solid grounds and evidences for believing it. Else a man walks in the dark, and believes he knows not what, he knows not why. Which is a kind of faith the Scripture no where approves of, but often rejects and disallows as injurious to God and reproachful to human nature. To worship we know not what is a thing chargeable with folly in the judgment of our Saviour: and, if we believe St. Paul, it is but a piece of superstitious devotion to erect an altar to the unknown God. Hence it is that Christianity is so often represented on the contrary to be a reasonable service, because it obliges all its votaries to understand the meaning of what they believe, to use their judgment in examining the grounds of truth, and to be "able to give an answer to every one that shall ask them a reason of the hope that is in them." All which supposes an obligation on men both to get a competent notion or idea of whatever they are to believe, and also to have solid reasons for believing it.

Nor will it hence follow, as some would infer, either that natural reason alone can help us to the knowledge of all necessary truths, or that nothing is to be received as a certain truth, but what we can have an adequate idea or full comprehension of: which are the wild mistakes and fundamental errors of some modern sectaries. For it is certain we may both believe and know many things of which we have no adequate knowledge or perfect idea; nor indeed any knowledge at all by the light of mere natural reason: as shall be shown in its proper

place. So that all that is meant by getting a competent knowledge of truth or having reason to believe it is only this: that men must endeavour to understand what they believe so far as the object is capable of being understood: and then believe it upon such reasons as are sufficient to persuade a rational man to yield assent to it. And this I conceive is properly to "buy the truth."

III. The third inquiry is into the reasons why, notwithstanding the possibility of attaining truth, so many men fail of the attainment of it? For the resolution of this inquiry it will be necessary to consider the causes of error: and the unfolding of them will quickly unfold this mystery.

Now the causes of error are many and various, but the principal of them, I take it, may be reduced to *these three heads:*

1. A want of sincerity and ingenuity in men's inquiries.

2. A want of industry and diligent exercise of men's own reason in examining the certain evidences of truth.

3. A contrary exaltation of human reason beyond its proper bounds.

1. First, error commonly proceeds from a want of sincerity and ingenuity in men's inquiries. Men have often other ends to serve than truth; such a lust or such a vice, such a principle or such a passion to be gratified; and then the question is not which opinion is the truest, but which is most agreeable to their genius, and tends most to gratify their several inclinations? This the Scripture calls *self-love,* and reckons it the principal cause of error. For when men are lovers of themselves more than lovers of truth, and "lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God," it is but natural for them to resist the truth, whenever it runs counter to their inclinations: and so by their own wicked temper, as well as the judgment of God, they are given over to "strong delusion, that they should believe a lie."

This would appear more evident had we time to look over the several instances of self-love, and consider what a powerful influence they have over the mind of man to warp the understanding. These are pride, vainglory, interest, and prejudice; for these are but so many different ways of expressing a man's love for himself and his own concerns. I shall only speak of

the first of them, *pride;* by which we may make an estimate of all the rest.

Now it is certain that pride is a grand enemy to truth. For the proud man is above instruction: he reckons his own notions the only standard of truth, and treats all men in the quality of enemies that entertain any different sentiments from him. This renders him impatient of contradiction, and wholly incapable of receiving better information: so that, as Solomon observes [Prov. 26, 12. 29, 20.], "there is commonly more hope of a fool than of him."

Besides, pride is commonly attended with fury, envy, and discontent upon the least opposition or the smallest disappointment; and these passions often engage men to sacrifice truth in a mere revenge, wetting itself by a spirit of contradiction. Thus it is observed all along by the ancient historians that there was scarce ever any considerable heresy infested the Church but envy or discontent, the effects of pride, were at the bottom of it[14]. It was a discontent that first made Simon Magus take a pique at the Apostles' doctrine. Because they denied him the episcopal power of confirmation, he would no longer be a member of the Church, because he could not have the honour to be the head of it. His pride was legible in his very doctrines. For what but a Luciferian pride could prompt a man to such prodigious blasphemies, as that he was the Eternal God who gave the law to Moses upon mount Sinai in the Person of the Father, appeared putative upon earth in the Person of the Son, and descended in the form of cloven tongues upon the Apostles in the Person of the Holy Ghost! From whence we may learn also, (to note this by the way,) who was the first author of the Unitarian heresy, viz. a person who could not blush to receive a Roman statue with this inscription, *Simoni Sancto Deo*, as Justin Martyr[15], an eyewitness of it, does inform us[16].

[14] Vid. Causes of Decay of Christian Piety, Lond. 1671. 8vo. Ch. 13. (pp. 325, seqq.) *A Survey of the Causes of Disputes; and first, Pride.*

[15] [Apol. 1. n. 26. (juxt. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1742. p. 596.)... Θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς Θεὸς τετίμηται· ὃς ἀνδριὰς ἀνεγήγερται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην, Σίμωνι Δέῳ Σάγκτῳ.—See also the Third Part of the Benedictine Editor's Preface, ch. 6. (Præf. p. 84.) *An merito Justinus* [*dicit*] *Prophetarum lectionem a Romanis prohibitam, et Simoni Mago statuam ut Deo erectam.* ED.]

[16] I am not ignorant that Salma-

It was the same cause, a disappointment of a bishopric, as Eusebius[17] tells us, that made Thebules [or Thebuthis] corrupt the Virgin Church of Jerusalem with the Jewish heresies. He acted his revenge upon it, because Jacobus Justus was preferred before him.

It was a like disgust that led Valentinus[18] to his heresy, because, when aspiring to the highest order of the Church, he was disappointed by the election of a martyr.

It was a like resentment that first gave occasion to the Novatian schism[19], because Cornelius was preferred before its author.

It was *φιλοπρωτεία*, as Eusebius[20] words it, that brought Montanus to enthusiasm.

Theodotion[21] denied our Saviour's Divinity out of a most unaccountable pride, viz. because having denied Christ in time

sius and some other critics have excepted against this passage of Justin Martyr, as if by mistake he had read *Simoni Sancto Deo*, instead of *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio*, because such an inscription has been lately found in the place where Justin says the statue of Simon Magus was. But this criticism is of very little weight, being a mere conjecture, without the least foundation; for who can imagine that Justin Martyr, a person so well versed in the Heathen theology, was so ignorant as not to be able to distinguish Semo Sangus, a noted Heathen God, from Simon Magus? or if he did, that he would wilfully and confidently go about to impose upon the Roman senate and people in a matter wherein he might so easily be confuted? J. B.

[17] [Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 22. (Ed. Vales. Paris. 1659. p. 142 d.) *Διατοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὔπω γὰρ ἔφθαρται ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ Θέβουθις διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑποφθείρειν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων, κ. τ. λ.*

[18] Vid. Tertull. adv. Valentinianos, c. 4. p. 148. (Ed. Seml. Halæ Magdeburg. 1827. v. 2. p. 113.) Speraverat episcopatum, &c.

[19] See this fully explained in Cave's Historia Literaria, Sæcul. Novatian. anno 251. (Ed. Basil. 1741. t. 1. pp. 129, 130.)

[20] Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 16. (Ed. Vales. ut supr. p. 180 b.).... *Ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμέτρῳ φιλοπρωτείας, κ. τ. λ.*

[21] Not Theodotion of Ephesus, who lived about the end of the second century, first a disciple of Tatian and afterwards a follower of Marcion, and then becoming a Jew translated the Old Testament into Greek in the time of the Emperor Commodus: but Theodotion, or more correctly Theodotus, of Byzantium, a currier by trade, but at the same time a man of great learning. His era was 192 according to Cave, who writes about him as follows: (Hist. Liter. Basil. 1741. t. 1. p. 87.) Fervente persecutione Christum negans, relicta patria, Romam profugit; ubi a quodam agnitus et fœdissimæ defectionis a Christi fide incusatus, ad sui excusationem vanum dogma commentus est, atque ita jactare cœpit, *Se non Deum sed hominem negasse.* Interrogatus autem, *Quem Deum hominem? Christum*, inquit, *hominem negavi.* Hinc arrepta occasione, novam hæresin excogitavit, &c. — Conf. Epiphan. Hær. 54. Theodosian. Item ap. Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. l. 2. c. 5. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 28. ED.]

of persecution, he would not have it said that he had denied his God.

Aërius [22] being denied the office of a bishop, for that reason became an enemy to the order.

And to name no more but this one, it was a proud resentment of a like disappointment that first made Arius disturb the Christian world. The case was very remarkable, and it was thus [23]. Arius was a man of excellent parts, an acute wit, and a florid tongue; a subtle disputant, and a popular preacher at Alexandria. This gave him hopes of succeeding to the bishopric upon the death of Achillas. *Speraverat episcopatum quia ingenio poterat et eloquio:* to use Tertullian's expressions in the case of Valentinus [24]. His parts made him think he deserved the greatest preferment. But he was disappointed of it by the promotion of Alexander, a more deserving man. This he resented to the highest degree, and through a mixture of pride and envy conceived an immortal hatred against his innocent competitor, which he resolved to show upon the first occasion. But Alexander was a man of unspotted morals: so that at his life Arius could take no exception. He resolved therefore to quarrel with his doctrine; and he did it upon this occasion. The good bishop, like a pious father, instructing his charge in the first principles of the Christian faith, endeavoured to explain and vindicate the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity from the sophistry of Sabellianism, which was then very rife in Egypt and those parts of Libya, where Sabellius had lived. In doing this he had occasion to use a Catholic expression, which malice and disingenuity might easily wrest to an heretical sense. It was, that the Father and the Son were δυὸ τῇ ὑποστάσει φύσεις, *two personal substances*, or *hypostatic natures*, perfectly alike and equal in all respects, save that the one was the eternal Father of the other. This gave Arius opportunity to charge him with Polytheism, as if he had asserted two self-originated unbegotten principles, δυὸ ἀγέννητα, that is, two Gods. And though Alexander had expressly cautioned against this in saying that the Son was not

[22] [Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 76. Aërius. præsertim c. 1. (t. 1. pp. 904, seqq.) —He contended fiercely for the equality of presbyters with bishops.

[23] See Cave as before, Sæcul. Arian. anno 315, (ibid. pp. 174, 175.) where the abstract is given from Athanasius and other sources.

[24] As referred to in note 18 preceding. Ed.]

another ἀγέννητον, but a φύσις μονογενὴς, not another unbegotten principle, but the only-begotten of the Father; yet Arius's malice would not let him see this, but pushed him on to pursue the charge. And so industriously did he manage his cause with Eusebius of Nicomedia, and others, who had been brought up with him under Lucian in the School of Antioch, that Alexander was blamed by many, and Arius justified; until Constantine was forced to take the matter into his own cognizance and call the great Synod of Nice, where Alexander's doctrine was approved and Arius condemned. This in short was the true origin and occasion of the Arian heresy.

Now from an induction of such a multitude of particulars, I suppose we may safely raise this general conclusion: that a proud man will at any time sacrifice truth in a personal quarrel, and if he can no otherways be revenged on his adversary he will revenge himself on his sentiments, though it be at the expense of the Catholic faith. And if so, it is very easy to account for the origin of many errors: for pride is a very natural distemper of a restless spirit; and so long as there is pride in human nature, there will be error too.

So that from this one instance of self-love and its powerful influence over the mind of man, we see it is no hard matter to resolve, why men of corrupt minds should also be destitute of the truth? The question seems to be a little more difficult concerning men of upright minds and good intentions, why, notwithstanding their real love for truth, they many times fail of the attainment of it? But this will easily be resolved by considering—

2. The second cause of error, which is a want of industry and diligent exercise of men's own reason in examining the certain evidences of truth. Good men are not always the most exact inquirers. Truth often requires a very diligent search, and more time and pains and drudgery than many men are willing to think it their duty to bestow upon it. This makes them take up with shorter ways of finding out truth, which seem at first to be plausible methods, but in the end they often prove delusive. I shall only instance *in two particulars* of this nature instead of many others.

1. *The first is, when men, out of a kind of religious reverence to some divine truths, are afraid to let their un-*

derstandings have free exercise and liberty of thinking about them.

This indeed at first looks like a kind of paradox, to assert that men should be ignorant of truth out of mere reverence to it, and yet it is too certain that ignorance and error are often the genuine effects of this cause. For sometimes men are possessed with an opinion that the doctrines of Christianity are wholly too sublime for human inquiry: and this cuts off all sober endeavours after the knowledge of such truths by making men despair of ever attaining a competent knowledge of them: insomuch that some are apt to deem it their duty to think nothing at all about them. But certainly, if Christian doctrines be necessary articles of our faith, as we now suppose, and if they were revealed and written for our learning, which is a thing beyond all question; then we are obliged to know and understand them so far as the revelation goes, which is plain and intelligible in all matters that immediately concern man's salvation.

It is true indeed almost every article of faith has something of difficulty in it, which we are not obliged to understand because it is not yet plainly revealed. But then it is as certain on the other hand, that in every article there is something which we may understand, because it is plainly and intelligibly revealed: and so far we are obliged to understand it. There is an adequate and an inadequate idea of every such thing; a perfect and an imperfect notion, a knowing in part and a knowing to perfection: and both these are true knowledge, though differing in degrees: for he who knows a thing but in part by an inadequate idea, has yet as true a knowledge of it, so far as it goes, as he that knows it to perfection. And this is the case of mysteries in religion. There is in every mystery something that may be known and understood, and something that exceeds our comprehension; and these respectively require different duties from us. That which exceeds our comprehension, which is properly the mystery, requires an humble admiration; and that which is knowable in it requires the exercise of our intellectual faculties to understand it. And as we must not pretend to know every thing of a mystery, because we may know something: so neither must we be ignorant of every thing, because there is something that exceeds our com-

prehension. If the one be a piece of grand presumption, the other is at least a piece of voluntary humility, which God has no where promised to accept at our hands. And the mischief of such a misguided reverence is, that it fatally involves men in a lasting prejudice, which makes them continue ignorant of those truths which are most necessary to be known.

2. *The other instance of a short inquiry is the depending merely upon the authority of learned and pious men, without further inquiry into the grounds of truth.*

This is that fatal rock upon which so many have split, who have thought themselves secured in the harbour of truth. For a mixture of learning and piety creates so great a reverence for the person in whom they centre, that men are willing to captivate their understandings to so great an authority; and freely admit of that slavery to which Pythagoras is said to have reduced his scholars, *ut etiam sine ratione valeret authoritas*. It was Vincentius Lirinensis's observation concerning Origen[25], 'that the fame of his learning and piety had given him such a repute in the world, that men were ready to say, *se malle cum Origene errare quam cum aliis vera sentire, that they had rather even err with Origen than believe the truth with others.*' Not that they were willing to embrace known errors, but they could not suspect those to be errors which were recommended to them by the authority of so great an oracle.

Now whenever the case happens to be thus, unthinking and less inquisitive men are in manifest danger of being cheated into error. For even the best and wisest men are themselves subject to delusion. No man's piety can secure him from error, nor his learning entitle him to infallibility. And therefore when such men fall, they must needs draw many others with them into error, who depend wholly upon their judgment, and seek for no other evidence but their authority. So that, as Vincentius[26] observed of old, 'It has always been one of

[25] [Commonitor. c. 17. (Oxon. 1836. p. 45.) Quotus enim quisque tanti ingenii, tantæ doctrinæ, tantæ gratiæ virum aut facile deponerat, ac non potius illa uteretur sententia, *Se cum Origene errare malle, &c.*

[26] I do not find these precise words, but the sentiment occurs more than once. See for example the commencement of chapter 17, (p. 41.) Dicebamur ergo in superioribus, quod in ecclesia Dei tentatio esset populi error magistri; quanto ipse esset doctior, qui erraret: &c.

the most dangerous inlets into error, to hold men's persons in admiration.'

Our Saviour foresaw this danger that would attend men in their inquiries after truth: and therefore he forewarned his disciples that they should call no man *master* upon earth; that is, receive no mere man's dictates for infallible oracles, but use their own judgment in examining the certain evidences and grounds of truth. "And why of yourselves," says he, "judge ye not what is right?" As if he had said, Why are ye governed by other men's authority, and rather use not your own reason to judge of truth? This, I conceive, is a plain intimation, that depending upon the authority of any mere man is a very fallible way of finding out truth. And it serves to make good our second observation concerning the origin of error, that it often proceeds from a want of industry and diligent exercise of men's own reason in examining the certain evidences of truth.

3. There is yet a third cause of error, and that is a contrary exaltation of human reason beyond its proper bounds. For it is very observable that the natural faculty of reason may be abused two different ways by two contrary extremes. Some men deny it its just office in religion; of which we have already spoken: others advance it too high, to the destruction of faith, revelation, and mysteries. And these commonly do it upon these two arbitrary pretences,—

First, *that nothing is to be received as truth, for which we have not the evidence either of sense or reason amounting to the infallible certainty of a mathematical demonstration.*

Secondly, *that every thing is to be rejected as imposture, of which we have not an adequate idea and full comprehension.*

These are those new lights that have led so many smatterers

—Ibid. (p. 42.).... Ut omnes vere Catholici noverant se cum ecclesia doctores recipere, non cum doctoribus ecclesiæ fidem deserere, debere. —See also ch. 10. (p. 24.) Magnus profecto nescio quis significatur magister, et tantæ scientiæ, qui sectatoribus propriis non solum quæ humana sunt nosse, verum etiam, quæ supra hominem sunt prænoscere, posse videatur, &c..... Et profecto magna tentatio est, cum ille quem tu prophetam, quem prophetarum discipulum, quem doctorem et assertorem veritatis putes, quem summa veneratione et amore complexus sis, is subito latenter noxios subinducat errores; quos nec cito deprehendere valeas, dum antiqui magisterii duceris præjudicio; nec facile damnare fas ducas, dum magistri veteris præpediris affectu. ED.]

in philosophy and pretenders to reason into such extravagant heights of blasphemy against God, the Holy Scriptures, revelation and mysteries. And no wonder that whilst these are looked upon as undoubted principles and infallible oracles of reason, the truth of all religion should be called in question. For it is certain there are many things, as well in natural as revealed religion, that cannot consist with these supposed principles. For if we must believe nothing but either upon the testimony of sense or a mathematical demonstration, or upon adequate ideas and full comprehensions, we must discard all objects of faith out of religion, and believe nothing that has the least mystery in it, because it admits not of this kind of evidence and demonstration. So that, allowing the truth of these principles, all religion must be false. And that is the true reason why the enemies of religion stand up so zealously in the defence of them: because upon the strength of these pretended oracles they can harangue against religion, and make bold attacks upon the Catholic faith.

But now if this be the case, as it plainly is, it equally concerns all inquirers after truth and friends to religion to see through such dangerous principles, and to be able to discover the vanity of such extravagant pretences. Their being called principles of philosophy and oracles of reason makes it the more necessary to set them in their true light, and bring them back to their proper appellations again, which is to be styled the false suggestions of pretended philosophy and reason. For true philosophy can never set itself against divinity, nor can the oracles of true reason contradict those of religion. And it is easy to show that these pretended principles are not the true oracles of reason, but only the over-hasty conceptions and abortive birth of a vitiated understanding. To evince which in as few words as possible, I shall only observe this one thing,—that these men quarrel with religion for those very things which they themselves in other cases are forced to allow, which is a certain argument that these supposed principles proceed only from a weakness of understanding.

1st. For, first, as to *those who will believe nothing but either upon the evident testimony of sense or the infallible certainty of a mathematical demonstration:* these men of certainty and infallibility, when religion is not concerned, believe ten

thousand things without scruple, for which they have no such evidence of sense or reason. They receive many things as true merely upon the strength of human testimony, where neither sense nor reason, but only their human faith, is concerned, and where they can have no other than a moral certainty. And yet matters of faith and revelation must be discarded merely because we come not to the knowledge of them by the sole evidence of sense or natural reason. Which, to give it its due character, is neither better nor worse than as if a man should deny all manner of sounds and visible objects, only because he could not see with his ears, or hear with his eyes. So reasonable are these great pretenders to human reason.

2nd. Again, *those who reject articles of faith and mysteries upon pretence that they cannot have an adequate idea and full comprehension of them*, do at the same time believe many things as truths, of which they cannot possibly have any such adequate idea or full comprehension. For not to mention now all the mysteries of nature, at present we will only suppose these men to believe a God, which it is to be hoped they do not yet deny: and if so, they then believe something of which they cannot have a full comprehension. For before any man can have a full comprehension of God, he must adequately understand his nature, his attributes, and all his actions. And yet every one of these has something in it far above the reach of human reason. His nature as a Spirit is wholly incomprehensible: his attributes of infinity, omniscience, and eternity far exceed the grasp of human reason; and the modus of his actions is altogether unaccountable; especially that wonderful mystery, the modus of the world's creation out of nothing. He is a bold man indeed that will undertake to know all these by adequate ideas and full comprehensions.

Some of the great pretenders to reason have fairly confessed these difficulties, and therefore to salve their own hypothesis have advanced other notions of God. This made [Conrad] Vorstius[28] first assign him a corporeal substance, as more in-

[28] [See his *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo, sive de Natura et Attributis ejus.* Steinf. 1606. 4to. Itidem, 1610. 4to. This book was replied to by Broëker in his *Antidotum Errorum in Tractatu C. Vorstii de Deo, &c.* Amstel. ex Officin. Petr. Petræi, 1512. [corrige 1612.] 4to.

telligible in his opinion and more agreeable to reason. And both he and the Socinians generally deny his prescience of future contingents, as a thing irreconcilable with man's free will, and altogether unaccountable. With them the immutability of his decrees is made to change, and immensity is confined to heaven. Volkelius[29] goes one step further, and denies the world's creation out of nothing. He was sensible that reason could never account for the modus of a production out of nothing; and therefore he took sanctuary in the schools of philosophy, and provided some pre-existent matter for his impotent God to work upon.

I only mention these things to show to what straits and difficulties these men are driven: either they must own that they themselves believe something incomprehensible; or, what is worse, must alter the notion of God, which is in effect to destroy his nature. For he who can believe that God is corporeal and finite, ignorant of many things, and mutable in his decrees, may as well believe that he is nothing at all. And indeed this is the very way that Epicurus is said to have gone when he first set up for a great master of Atheism. He would not own his opinion openly to the world, for that would have brought the odium of the world upon him; but he took care to represent God in such a dress as he knew would render him as insignificant as if there were none at all. *Idque videns Epicurus*, says the Roman orator[30], *re tollit, oratione relinquit Deos.* And it were to be wished that some men did not, at least ignorantly, do what he did with design, whilst they transform the Deity into a fiction of their own reason, and make an idol of the living God.

I have now done with *the causes of error;* having shown them to be chiefly these three: 1. A want of sincerity and ingenuity in men's inquiries. 2. A want of industry and diligent exercise of men's own reason in examining the certain evidences of truth. 3. A contrary exaltation of human reason beyond its proper bounds. And from these it is very easy to

[29] [See in the work entitled *De Vera Religione Libri Tres; quibus præfixus est Jo. Crellii Liber de Deo et ejus Attributis, et nunc demum adiuncti de Uno Deo Patre Libri Duo.* S. l. et an. 4to.

[30] Cicero, De Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 30. (Amstel. 1724. p. 2925.)..... Epicurum verbis reliquisse deos re sustulisse, &c. ED.]

resolve the third inquiry, Why, notwithstanding the possibility of attaining truth, so many men fail of the attainment of it?

IV. The fourth and last inquiry is, What are the principal rules and cautions to be observed in order to distinguish truth from error? For the resolution of which it must be premised, that reason has still its part in religion. Though its office be not to discover every truth merely by its own natural light, or any truth by an adequate comprehension; yet it is the faculty God has given us to judge of truth by certain rules, whereby we may be able to discern truth from falsehood, and distinguish revelation from imposture, and "try the spirits whether they be of God." These *rules* are most excellently treated of by a late Reverend Prelate in his Discourse of Trying the Spirits[31], and therefore I shall not need to insist long upon them.

1. One is, *that whatever has the certain evidence of a divine revelation must needs be true.* This is grounded upon the undeniable supposition of God's veracity and power; that he is true in himself, and able to discover many hidden truths to us by such certain evidence as no one can have any reason to question. Now this evidence is miracles, or works wrought by such a supernatural power in confirmation of a rational doctrine, as must needs argue God to be the ultimate author of both. And when any doctrine, which is rational in its own nature and worthy the revelation of God, comes attested with this kind of evidence, we have all imaginable reason to believe it. And to question the truth of it, in this case, were to resist the greatest evidence that could be given, and to make it impossible for God to reveal Himself to mankind.

Yet I deny not but that there may be cases, in which a miracle will not be a sufficient warrant to receive a doctrine, or prove it to come from God; as is evident from Deuteronomy, (13, 1–5,) where a false prophet is supposed to work a miracle by giving a sign or wonder that comes to pass, with an intent to draw men off from the worship of the true God. But then in this case it is evident the doctrine contradicts some immuta-

[31] [Dr. Blackall, Bishop of Exeter in 1707. See his Second Sermon preached before the Queen [Anne] at St. James's, Nov. 9, 1707. The Way of Trying Prophets, on 1 Joh. 4, 1. Sermons on several Occasions, Lond. 1717. v. 2. pp. 33, seqq. Ed.]

ble principle of religion, of the truth of which we are fully assured before. We have an eternal unalterable obligation to worship the true God, and him alone: therefore the doctrine that teaches to forsake the true God is so irrational in itself, so unworthy the revelation of God and contradictory to his nature, that though it should be attested by a miracle we might safely conclude it to be imposture: for the permission of such a miracle is only designed by way of probation, to try men's fidelity and ingenuity; and in such cases there are other rules to judge of truth. Therefore,

2. A second is, *that whatever contradicts the principles of natural religion, cannot be the truth of God.* The reason of which is plain: because the principles of natural religion are themselves the truth of God antecedent to all revelation: and one divine truth cannot contradict another.

Thus it is a principle of natural religion, that God must be the Creator of the world, and whatever is not the Creator of the world cannot be God. So that, should any one pretend never so many miracles to establish the belief or worship of a God that did not make the world, we might from the very principles of natural religion conclude it to be imposture. It was a remarkable saying of Justin Martyr to this purpose in his Book against Marcion, 'that he would not have believed our Saviour himself, had he preached any other God than the Creator of the world and Maker of all things.' The book is now lost; but Irenæus[32] preserves the passage, and highly extols and applauds him for it: *Bene Justinus in eo libro, qui est ad Marcionem, ait, quoniam ipsi Domino non credidisset, alterum Deum annuntianti præter Fabricatorem et Factorem, Nutritorem nostrum.* So that, had we no other reason against Socinianism, we might however from this one rule conclude it to be false, because it introduces the worship of a God who, upon the principles of the Racovian[33] way, is not the Creator of the

[32] [Advers. Hæreses, l. 4. c. 14. (juxt. Ed. Bened. Venet. 1734. c. 6. t. 1. p. 233.) Καὶ καλῶς Ἰουστῖνος, κ. τ. λ.—See also in Grabe's Spicilegium, sæc. 2. t. 2. p. 175.

[33] From the press of Racovia, Racow or Rakow, a town of Lesser Poland, in the Palatinate of Sendomir, which was built in 1569 by John Sieninius, Palatine of Podolia, for the reception of a sect of Unitarians or Socinians. From this spot numerous works composed by Socinian writers annually emanated till 1638, when, by a decree of the State, the society was entirely broken

world. For according to their hypothesis our Saviour is not the maker of the old world, but only the author of the new creation. Consequently to worship him upon that hypothesis is to make a God that did not make the world: and that is to contradict one of the first principles of natural religion. Whence we may observe by the way, how justly God sometimes infatuates men's understandings, that these great pretenders to natural religion should themselves act in the most manifest contradiction to it.

Another principle of natural religion is, that there can be but one God: and to introduce the belief or worship of three Gods is consequently an imposture, because it contradicts a principle of natural religion. Now here at least the Unitarians think they have the manifest advantage of those who defend the doctrine of the Christian Trinity, for they immediately conclude, that Three Divine Persons must needs be a contradiction to this principle of natural religion, and introduce three Gods. But would these men only impartially consult their own reason, and consider the true notion of one God and three, they would quickly find that the doctrine of the Christian Trinity, as delivered in the Holy Scriptures, cannot justly stand chargeable with the consequence of introducing three Gods. For the notion of three Gods must needs imply three times as much as the natural notion of one. Now the natural notion of one God always implies one absolute, unbegotten, self-originated principle. Consequently the natural notion of three Gods must needs imply three absolute, unbegotten, self-originate principles, collateral and co-ordinate to one another. But now it is certain, that the doctrine of Three Divine Persons under the relation and economy of a Father unbegotten, a Son begotten, and a Holy Spirit proceeding, cannot be three absolute, self-originated, unbegotten principles: for it implies a contradiction to say, that the only-begotten Son of God is unbegotten; consequently, there not being three unbegotten principles, there cannot be three Gods. This is so evident

up, the professors and scholars were ejected, and the school which James Sieninius had added, when he enlarged the place, was pulled down, and the press utterly destroyed. See Cotton's Typographical Gazetteer. Oxford, 1831. 8vo. Ed.]

almost to a demonstration, that were not men of perverse disputings resolved eternally to quarrel with their own reason, as well as with the truth of Holy Scripture, we should never have heard of the charge of Tritheism against the doctrine of the Christian Trinity. For though this mystery be something that our reason could never have told us; yet when revelation has acquainted us with it, our very reason tells us it ought to be believed, since it implies no contradiction to any principle of natural religion. And thus we can fairly join issue with the subtlest adversaries of Christianity as to this particular, that nothing can be truth that contradicts a principle of natural religion, and by this rule at once maintain the truth of the Christian religion, and discover many errors that contradict it.

3. *Whatever contradicts the evident testimony of sense or reason cannot be the truth of God.* The reason of this is the same with that concerning the principles of natural religion: viz. that the evidence of sense and reason is antecedent to all revelation; and we must suppose the right use of our natural faculties before we can be assured of the truth of any revelation. And for this reason we reject transubstantiation, not barely because it is above our reason, but because it destroys the right use and exercise of our natural faculties, and plainly contradicts them.

4. Lastly, *that cannot be truth which contradicts the analogy of faith or an antecedent revelation.* For if so, we might be obliged to believe contradictory truths at once, which is impossible. Upon this account the prophet was to be rejected, [Deut. 13, 1—5,] who went about to change the worship of the true God, because the true God had given a sufficient manifestation of himself by the revelation then made to Moses. For the same reason, if either man or angel should preach any other Gospel than what we have received, he were to be accursed, [Gal. 1, 8 and 9;] for the completion of our faith is the last revelation made by God in Christ, and we are for ever to hold fast this "faith which was once delivered to the saints."

Thus I have done with the resolution of the four inquiries: having shown, 1. What truth is. 2. What it is to buy the truth.

3. What are the reasons why men often fail of truth. 4. What are the principal rules to be observed in order to distinguish truth from error.

I shall now only make *two reflections upon the whole*, and so conclude.

1. The first is general with respect to all men, *that they who have the Holy Scripture are obliged to something more than bare morality and practice; and that is faith, or the knowledge of those necessary divine truths which are revealed in Scripture.*

Some modern accounts of religion make faith a kind of useless thing, and the scheme of Christianity little better than a system of good morality. As if no more was required to make a man a Christian than what an honest moral Heathen may know by the light of natural reason! But if so, to what purpose was the revelation made? Why did God acquaint us with so many noble truths concerning his own nature, the incarnation of his Son, and the satisfaction made by his death, if the knowledge of these were not to stand for something in religion? Why does the Scripture so often require faith in Christ, as well as repentance towards God, if the one as well as the other be not a necessary condition of man's salvation? But if both be necessary, then faith and works must go together, and men must learn to know God, as well as keep his commandments. For since God has revealed his truths to men, he will judge them for their ignorance and infidelity as well as other crimes: and then a voluntary error in faith may prove as fatal as an immorality in practice.

2. We may hence infer, *that if it be the duty of all men to "buy the truth," it is much more the duty of those whose office more immediately entitles them to be guardians of truth.*

The priests' lips should preserve knowledge, and that upon a double account, both because they have greater opportunities of attaining it, and also because they are under an obligation of showing it to others. They are obliged to acquaint men with "the whole counsel of God;" which supposes that they themselves are first acquainted with it. Therefore this double obligation should lay a double engagement on them to "buy the truth." And there is this further encouragement to do it,

that to know the truth and show it unto others will be the occasion of a double reward. For "they that be teachers[34] shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

I conclude all with the exhortation of the Apostle, "Let us take heed to ourselves and to our doctrine, and continue in them: for in doing this we shall both save ourselves and those that hear us." [See 1 Tim. 4, 16.]

[34] [Dan. 12, 13. They that be wise, &c. *Teachers* in the margin. According to the Septuagint συνιέντες, which seems to be the exact rendering of the Hebrew מַשְׂכִּילִים, *intelligentes*, from שֵׂכֶל, *intellectus, prudentia*. The Vulgate reads *docti*. Ed.]

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE MERCY OF GOD

TO

PENITENT SINNERS:

INTENDED FOR

THE USE OF PERSONS TROUBLED IN MIND.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

RECTOR OF HAVANT, ETC.

MONITUM.

[I HAVE no means of ascertaining the precise date at which this Sermon was originally preached. Perhaps it was intended by the Author as a kind of sequel to the Sermons and Letters on Absolution, and may very properly be considered by the Reader as a suitable appendix to those tracts.

Neither have I been able to get sight of a copy of the original publication, which was first reproduced in the folio edition of 1726; but I presume that this Discourse must have been brought out as a separate pamphlet by the Author himself in 1720. For there is no intimation of it in Knaplock's rider at the end of the sixth volume of the *Origines*, which was published in 1719; but I find the first notice of it just after the re-advertisement of the Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism in the publisher's list at the end of the eighth volume, which first appeared before the close of 1720. ED.]

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

MERCY OF GOD.

PSALM 103, 13.

As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.

As there is no quality in God more amiable in itself, or more comfortable in its consideration to human nature, than the attribute of *mercy:* so there is nothing the Scripture seems more emphatically to impress upon us a firm belief and a right apprehension of than this. It represents God as delighting and glorying in this character, that he is "merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin:" as God proclaimed before Moses at Mount Sinai. (Exod. 34, 6.) And the more to make us sensible of this, it condescends to speak to us in the most familiar way, raising ideas of God's mercy in us by things that we are most intimately acquainted with; comparing the actions and disposition of God to those of a tender and compassionate Father towards his children: this is very pathetically represented by our Saviour in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, (Luke 15,) and here by the Psalmist in the text, "As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him."

From which words my design is to speak of the mercy of God, not in general, as it relates to all his creatures, "for his mercy is over all his works," but as it particularly relates to penitent sinners, who are here described under the character of "them that fear him." In doing this I shall,

I. Give some eminent instances of God's signal pity and mercy toward penitent sinners:

II. Obviate and answer some difficulties which often make penitent sinners think they want God's mercy when they really enjoy it:

III. Apply the discourse in some practical and moral reflections.

I. In speaking to *the first point*, I must not now insist either, first, upon God's sending his Son to die for mankind; though it was a most singular act of God's mercy, recommending "his love towards us, in that, whilst we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;" nor, secondly, upon God's sending his Holy Spirit to call and prevent us with his assisting grace: because both these are acts of mercy antecedent to our repentance, and offered to sinners in order to make them penitent, and turn them unto God, before they have any power or will to turn themselves. But the acts of pity I am to speak of are such as God shows to penitent sinners, when they first begin to repent and are actually on their way to God. And these are *three*.

1. That he takes notice of the first essays and beginnings of goodness in them, and bears with their weakness, till they arrive to strength and a perfect reformation.

2. That he helps and assists them all along in their progress.

3. That he crowns their endeavours by a kind reception, and complete pardon of all their offences.

1. *He takes notice of the first essays and beginnings of goodness in them, and bears with their weakness, till they arrive to strength and a perfect reformation.*

A father does not expect the same manly service from his children, whilst they are children, as he may require of them when they are arrived to the state of perfect men: nor does he exact the same measure of activity, labour, or sagacity from those of a weaker frame, or meaner parts and abilities, as he does from those whom he knows to be of a more bright and lively genius, or a more robust and athletic constitution.

So in like manner it is with God in his dealings with penitent sinners. He does not expect at their first conversion to find in them immediately all the pleasing graces and perfections of mature and full-grown Christians. There is a weakness and

dulness, and prejudices, and a littleness of faith, which for some time he is willing to bear in them, as Christ did in his own disciples. So long as they are hearty and sincere, he does not exact more than they are able to offer him: only he requires their prayers, and endeavours after more grace, that they may go on to perfection. He is pleased to hear a sincere heart cry, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief." He considers also that he has not made all his creatures of the same size and abilities, nor given equal measures and portions of his grace to all alike. Some have more time and leisure, better opportunities, less incumbrances, quicker understandings, and more faithful memories than others; some have an happier education, and are qualified to consult the oracles of God themselves; whilst others, for the little instruction they get, are forced to be beholden to the charity of others. He does not therefore exact the same measures of performance from all alike, but only requires men to be sincere to what they know, and what they are able: "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." (Luke 12, 48.) Only he expects an honest and industrious mind to do what men are able, according to the proportion of grace that he affords them; and then the widow's mites are as acceptable an offering as the abundance of others; and in all other cases, "if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not." (2 Cor. 8, 12.) For God is pleased with the first appearances of real goodness in his children, and not only accepts them, but helps and encourages them to go on to perfection: "The bruised reed he will not break, the smoking flax he will not quench, till he sends forth judgment unto victory." (Is. 42, 3. Matth. 12, 20.) Which brings me to the second act of God's mercy toward repenting sinners, which is,—

2. *That he not only bears with their weakness, but helps and assists them all along in their progress, till they come to full strength and a perfect reformation.*

This he does by the various methods of his grace; inviting, nay, drawing them to himself, by the powerful, though many times invisible and undiscernible operations of his Holy Spirit. Which Spirit illuminates their understanding by degrees, and

leads them into all necessary truth. He takes off the hardness of their hearts, and corrects the frowardness of their wills. He regulates all their affections, and fixes them to their right and proper objects; giving a new turn and bias to all their inclinations, till they come to a perfect conformity to the will of God. He opens their hearts and still makes them more and more attentive to the Word of God, by the promises whereof he fortifies them against terror and despair, and makes all the seeming difficulties of religion wear off, by adding new strength, succour, and courage to their first endeavours, and keeping their minds warm in devotion, and fixed and intent upon the business of another world. This good Spirit omits no opportunities of doing them good, but takes all the most proper and seasonable occasions to inspire good thoughts into them. Even a thousand seeming accidents of their lives become providential calls and admonitions to them, whilst the Spirit makes every thing "work together for good to them that love God." By these and such like means, strengthening, not destroying our natural faculties, a man, who before was weak, nay, "dead in trespasses and sins," is not only "quickened" and set at liberty, but able to say with the great Apostle, "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." (Phil. 4, 13.) This is the second act of God's mercy toward repenting sinners, that he helps and assists them all along in their progress, till they arrive to full strength and a perfect reformation.

3. Then, *He crowns their endeavours by a kind reception into peace and favour, and a complete pardon of all their offences.*

Whenever a sinner returns again to him from his evil ways, he immediately lays aside his wrath, cancels his former displeasure, blots out the sinner's ingratitude, forgets his offences, and remembers his sins no more. He retains no secret grudge, or thoughts of revenge against him; never expostulates the matter with him more about his former life, chides not, upbraids him not with his by-past follies, but passes an act of oblivion upon all his offences, and readily receives him into favour. "If the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die. All his transgressions that he hath committed shall not be mentioned

unto him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live," is God's general promise to all repenting sinners. (Ezek. 18, 21 and 22.) And, "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." (Jer. 31, 34.)

In which places we are to take notice of the greatness and extensiveness of God's mercy, together with the readiness and quickness of it; which are qualifications that most eminently recommend it above any thing that is ordinarily to be found in human goodness.

For God pardons readily, not only lesser faults, but those of the greatest magnitude. How great were David's crimes, adultery and murder, ingratitude to God, and forgetfulness of his mercies towards him! And yet upon his true repentance God readily pardoned him. He could no sooner make an hearty confession of his sins, but the Prophet in God's name gave him a comfortable absolution: "The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die." (2 Sam. 12, 13.) But there was one sin greater than all these of David put together, which yet God pardoned; and that was murdering Christ his own Son, the Prince of Life and Glory. Upon which St. Austin makes this discourse, to comfort the greatest of sinners[1]: 'Let no man say, I have done such or such a thing, and I fear it will not be forgiven me. What hast thou done? what great sin hast thou committed? Tell me, some monstrous, grievous, horrible crime, which thou art afraid to think of. Let it be what it will: hast thou killed Christ? There can be no fact worse than that, because there is nothing better than Christ. How great a wickedness is it to murder Christ! But the Jews did murder him, yet many of them afterwards repented and believed, and drank his blood; and the sin which they had committed was forgiven them.'

This discourse is founded upon St. Peter's sermon to the Jews, which we read of in Acts 2, 22; where he first lays before them the greatness of their crime: "Ye men of Israel,

[1] De Symbolo ad Catechumenos, l. 1. c. 7. t. 9. p. 294. (t. 6. p. 554 f.) Nemo dicat, Illud feci, forte non mihi dimittitur. Quid fecisti? Quantum fecisti? Dic immane aliquid, quod commisisti, grave, horrendum, quod etiam cogitare horres. Quidquid vis feceris, numquid Christum occidisti? Non est isto facto aliquid pejus, quia et Christo nihil est melius. Quantum nefas est occidere Christum? Judæi tamen cum occiderunt, et multi in eum postea crediderunt, et biberunt ejus sanguinem: dimissum est illis peccatum, quod commiserunt.

hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know: him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." What then? must they for ever despair of pardon for this? No: but "repent," says he, "and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." (ver. 38.) And then it follows, (ver. 41,) "that they who gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls." In the next chapter he discoursed much after the same manner, and with the like good effect. "Ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead." (Acts 3, 14 and 15.) Yet he does not discourage them from seeking pardon, but gives them assurance of obtaining it, if they would take the proper methods to procure it: which was, "Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord." (ver. 19.) And so it was; "for many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand." (Acts 4, 4.)

These were signal instances of God's mercy in pardoning the murderers of his own Son, left upon record for our instruction and comfort; that no one might despair of God's mercy, whose sins are not greater than that of murdering Christ.

St. Paul says he himself obtained mercy for the same reason, that he might be an encouraging example of God's forbearance to all others; (1 Tim. 1, 15 and 16.) "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." For he was before "a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious," and concerned in the murder of St. Stephen and others of God's saints, who when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them. "Howbeit for this cause," says he, "I obtained mercy, that in me first, (or in me the chiefest of sinners,) Jesus Christ might show forth all longsuffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe to life everlasting." [Ibid. ver. 16.]

But it will be said, all these were sins committed before baptism, which much alters the case: for there is no second baptism for the remission of sins allowed after the first for those "who are once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." [Hebr. 6, 4–6.]

To which I answer, that this does not at all alter the case: for though the sins of David, and the Jews, and St. Paul were committed before baptism, yet they were not before circumcision, which was the same thing to them as baptism is now unto us, an entrance into the covenant of God, and the visible seal of it. So that as God allowed of a method of expiation after circumcision, so he does now after baptism, though baptism be now no more to be repeated over again than circumcision was. For God in his mercy, as St. Austin[2] observes, has allowed us three ways to obtain remission of sins: First, baptism, which cleanses us from all manner of sins, original and actual, great and small. Secondly, prayer and daily addresses to the throne of grace for lesser sins of daily incursion, without which no man lives. For pardon of these he has taught us to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Thirdly, for greater and more heinous sins he has allowed us the expiation of a more solemn and particular repentance; and that either public, (in case of scandalous, flagrant, and public crimes, which deserve excommunication from the body of Christ,) or else private repentance between God and ourselves, for such crimes as do not bring us under the public discipline and censures of the Church. So

[2] Ubi supra, ibid. p. 294. (ibid. g.) Propter omnia peccata baptismus inventus est: propter levia, sine quibus esse non possumus, oratio inventa. Quid habet oratio? *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Semel abluimur baptismate, quotidie abluimur oratione. Sed nolite illa committere, pro quibus necesse est ut a Christi corpore separemini: quod absit a vobis. Illi enim quos videtis agere pœnitentiam, scelera commiserunt, aut adulteria, aut aliqua facta immania; inde agunt pœnitentiam. Nam si levia peccata, ipsorum essent, ad hæc quotidiana oratio delenda sufficeret. Ergo tribus modis dimittuntur peccata in ecclesia, in baptismate, in oratione, in humilitate majore [al. majoris] pœnitentiæ, &c.

that beside baptism we have a double method of obtaining pardon of sins, according to their different quality and greatness. Which pardon is confirmed and sealed to us in the holy communion, as it were by a visible demonstration, which gives us, as by a deed of conveyance, the body and blood of Christ, and all the expiation and atonement that attends them. So that a sinner needs not complain of God for want of mercy, since there are so many ways of dispensing pardon to us after baptism.

But some, who are actually pardoned by God and in his favour cannot think themselves so, because they find his hand in some measure still upon them; either, first, *in temporal calamities, which are many times the natural effects of sin;* or, secondly, *in providential afflictions, which he for wise reasons, and their own good, is pleased to lay and continue upon them;* or, thirdly, *because they are sometimes under fresh agonies upon the remembrance of their by-past sins;* or, fourthly, *because God's grace is not so powerful in them as to cleanse them from all the relics of sinful frailty and corruption, and make them angels before their time;* or, lastly, *because they are still liable to temptations, and troubled with black and ugly thoughts, darted into their minds against their wills, by the power and subtlety of Satan.*

Now to remove these scruples and complaints, I proceed to the second general thing proposed, which was,

II. To obviate and answer those difficulties which often make penitent sinners think they want God's mercy, when they really enjoy it. And to these I shall answer both in general and in particular.

1st. *In general,* I say, all this proceeds only from a wrong apprehension of the mercy of God, which does not oblige him to remove all these several sorts of afflictions or imperfections from sinners at the moment that he pardons their sins. For Christ had no sin. He was innocence itself, that needed no pardon; and yet he was "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief" all his life; nay, he was "subject to temptations also, like as we are, yet without sin," that he might know how to "succour them that are tempted." What wonder then that any mortal sinner should be subject to such calamities as Christ himself, the immortal God, who knew no sin, was pleased to submit to as well for our benefit as instruction.

2dly. But to answer *a little more particularly* and distinctly to the several scruples: I observed in the first place,—

1. That *temporal calamities* were many times only the natural effects of sin. And why should any man wonder that God should permit the natural effects of sin to remain upon the sinner after pardon, when in many cases it could not be otherwise without a special miracle? If a man by a drunken or debauched life brings upon himself a lingering fever or a consumption, God may pardon his sin upon his true repentance; but he is not obliged, either by any promise or by the nature of his mercy, to work a special miracle in his case, to deliver him from his bodily distemper. Nay, perhaps it is a mercy not to deliver him from it; since without a second miracle of preventing grace perhaps the man as soon as he was healed would return to his old course again. It is rather mercy therefore to let the natural effects of his sins remain upon him even after pardon.

2. So again, if God sends *some providential afflictions* upon men, they are not to interpret these always as acts of anger or judgment, but arguments of his kindness and mercy, designed by God only to prevent sin, and keep them humble.

As it was in the case of St. Paul, who was a chosen vessel and a particular favourite of heaven; yet God thought fit to afflict him with "a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan, sent to buffet him," to keep him humble, "lest he should be exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations" that were given him. For this he "besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from him:" but he only received this answer, that God's "grace should be sufficient" for him; that God's "strength should be perfected in his weakness." With which answer he was satisfied, and made no further complaints, as if God was wanting to him in his mercy: but, "most gladly therefore," says he, "will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong," (2 Cor. 12, 7—10.)

The afflictions of Job were, in like manner, not expressions of God's anger, but his infinite wisdom and kindness to him to approve his patience to all the world, and give him such a

surprising victory over Satan, as made even the adversary himself imagine there was something more in human nature, assisted by grace, than he before was apprehensive of.

So that when God sends providential afflictions upon penitent sinners they are not always scourges, but sometimes mercies, to try their patience, or to preserve them from sin. And if their prayers for removal of them are at last heard, as Job's was, they may rejoice and be thankful. If they are denied, as St. Paul's was, they may be patient still, and rejoice in their infirmities with the great Apostle, that the power of Christ may rest upon them.

3. But some penitents are afraid their sins are not pardoned, *because they are frequently under fears and apprehensions of God's anger and displeasure recurring upon them.* Now, if this be for any new wilful sins committed after pardon, they have reason enough indeed to fear; because of that saying of our Saviour, "Thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee," [John 5, 14.] But if it be only for the remembrance of former sins, which are already pardoned, such fears are no indications of their being out of God's favour, but tokens of his mercy, who suffers such fears to recur upon them to make their repentance commensurate with their lives, and by the abhorrence of by-past sins to keep them from future falling.

That it is so is evident from the case of David, who after his sin was pardoned by the mouth of the Prophet, and he was infallibly assured of it, yet he lay under great agonies and conflicts of soul upon the remembrance of his great transgressions. Hear one or two of his expressions and complaints upon this occasion. "Thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore: there is no soundness in my flesh because of thine anger, neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin. For mine iniquities are gone over mine head, as a sore burden, they are too heavy for me. My wounds stink and are corrupt, because of my foolishness; I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly; I go mourning all the day long. For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease, and there is no soundness in my flesh. I am feeble and sore broken: I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart," (Ps. 38, 2–.8) So again, (Ps. 77, 2—9.) "My sore ran in the night, and ceased not; my

soul refused to be comforted. I remembered God, and was troubled: I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed. Thou holdest mine eyes waking, I am so troubled that I cannot speak....Will the Lord cast off for ever? And will he be no more entreated? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? And doth his promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?" At last he recollects and checks himself for these complaints; "I said, This is my infirmity: but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High." [v. 10.] I will call to mind what God before has done for me, and then there will be no room nor reason for such complaints as these.

4. But some are afraid their sins are not pardoned, *because they find in themselves still the remainders of sin; and grace is not so powerful in them as to conquer all manner of sin whatsoever.* Now if this be meant of wilful, reigning, gross, habitual sins, they have reason indeed to fear: for then their repentance is not sincere, whilst they knowingly cherish any one reigning vice in their souls; for "he that keepeth the whole law, and yet offendeth in one point, is guilty of all. He that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill: now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law" [James 2, 10 and 11.], and so long thou art not in a state of grace and favour with God, because thou art a wilful transgressor of his law. But if it be meant only of lesser sins of ignorance, inadvertency, sudden surprise, and human frailty, to which all men are liable, against which they daily strive, but cannot wholly conquer; these are consistent with a state of grace and favour: because the very best of men are still liable to them. "In many things we offend all:" and in this sense "there is no man that lives and sinneth not." But God in his mercy hath provided a remedy for these, which is our daily prayer,—"Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." If it were otherwise, our condition were very deplorable! for then no man could be saved; there being no man, except Christ alone, who ever lived without these. So that if God should be extreme to mark what is done amiss, no man could abide it; if he should strictly "enter into judgment" with us for these things, "no man living could be justified in his sight;" for this is only

the perfection of angels, and the privilege of "the spirits of just men made perfect." Whilst we are in this body of flesh there will be those failings and imperfections in us. God has left them in us to exercise our care and vigilance, and to keep us humble and depending upon his grace, and to quicken our addresses to him for more and more strength to overcome them. Therefore we ought to watch and strive indeed against them as much as we can, and pray "that his will may be done in earth as it is done in heaven." But if after all our prayers and endeavours we cannot wholly free ourselves from them, we are not to despond, because we are only in the condition of all mankind. We ought also to grieve and sorrow for these imperfections as well as all others, and to aspire after the place that will set us at liberty from them: but we must not expect to be angels before our time, but whilst we are in this vale of misery be content to bear these as part of our afflictions, which nothing but death, or rather a victory over death and mortality, will wholly conquer. In the mean time we have assurance that God will not impute them to us to our condemnation, but pity us, and pardon us upon our constant prayers and daily repentance. And in this sense it is that St. Austin[3] calls these *venial sins:* not because any sin is not mortal in its own nature, but because they are such as God will not impute to his servants, who sincerely love him, to their condemnation.

5. But some penitents are afraid their sins are not pardoned *because they are still liable to temptations, and troubled with black and ugly thoughts, darted into their minds against their wills, by the power and subtlety of Satan.*

Now in this case two things are always diligently to be inquired into. First, Whether temptations are of men's own procuring, either by idleness and want of some honest employment, or by putting themselves in the way of temptation by engaging in any unlawful business or diversion? And, secondly, Whether a man cherishes the temptation, or gives way and consent to it? If either of these be his case, he is guilty of sin. For he that by idleness, or negligence, or any unlawful employment, puts himself in the way of temptation, tempts the tempter,

[3] Ubi supra, (ibid. g.) Non vobis dico. quia sine peccato hic vivetis: sed sunt venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est.

as it were, to tempt him. Tertullian[4] tells us of a certain Christian in his time, who went to the Roman theatre, or stage-plays, and returned possessed with a devil: and the unclean spirit being asked by the exorcist, How he durst presume to attack a Christian? answered confidently, That he had a right to do it, because he found the party upon his own ground! So that if men are engaged in any unlawful business, and a temptation then befalls them, the very temptation itself is their crime, because they make themselves beforehand parties and accessaries to it. Or if it befall them without their sin, yet if afterwards they give way, and consent, and yield to the force of it, they make it their crime by their sinful compliance with it.

But setting aside these two cases, it is no crime to be tempted, whilst we are merely passive in the temptation. Of which we have this infallible proof and demonstration, that Christ himself was tempted of the Devil, yet without sin in any but the tempter. And so long as we keep ourselves pure after the same example; that we neither be accessary in calling the temptation on ourselves, nor by any slavish cowardice in the spirit of bondage, yield a base compliance to it; but as soon as we find it, reject it with indignation and abhorrence, as our Saviour did, "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" [Matth. 4, 10.] so long, I say, as it makes no further impression on us, but to raise our anger, or zeal, or resolution against it; while we do not receive it with pleasure, nor give any consent, or access, or encouragement to it, so far we are secure: it is the Devil's crime, not ours. It may be our affliction, but it is not our sin. It may raise in us horror and astonishment, as any sudden surprise is apt to do; and it may perhaps create us anguish and trouble, to think how we are exposed to the assaults of Satan, who has power to work upon our imaginations, and thereby disturb our fancies, and raise unaccountable thoughts in us: but so long as our wills, over which he has no power, yield no consent, the most fiery of all

[4] De Spectacul. c. 26. (p. 83 c.) ..Exemplum accidit, Domino teste, ejus mulieris, quæ theatrum adiit et indè cum dæmonio rediit, &c. See Antiquities, b. 3. ch. 4. s. 2. v. 1. p. 317. n. 77. Also b. 11. ch. 5. s. 9. v. 4. p. 90. n. 59.

his darts, the most subtle of all his devices, cannot hurt us. Whilst we resist the Devil, he must at last fly from us, and yield the victory: and then we may rejoice in the conquest, though perhaps we could not in the very engagement. For "no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby." (Heb. 12, 11.) In which respect the Apostle bids us, "count it all joy when we fall into divers temptations; knowing this, that the trial of our faith worketh patience." (James 1, 2–3.) Only "let patience have her perfect work," and then it will be joy in the end, when we have baffled the adversary, and gained the victory. "And," says another Apostle, "we glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." (Rom. 5, 3–5.) We do but love God the more in such cases: for the more we are tempted by Satan to desert or forsake him, it quickens our zeal, redoubles our care and watch, invigorates our faith, and inflames our devotion, to make us fly with greater frequency and greater ardency to the Throne of Grace, to find help in time of need. So the very temptations of Satan turn to our advantage, whilst we resist and repel them; and we are more than conquerors over him, because we invert his wicked designs, and turn those things to our health and strength which he designed should be "an occasion of falling." Therefore we have reason to suppose in such cases, that God permits Satan to tempt us only for our advantage: and it is not only a demonstration of his own wisdom and power, so to countermine the wiles of Satan, and draw good out of evil; but also an argument of his mercy to us, to make our graces more illustrious, and our victory more glorious; whilst he perfects his strength in our weakness, and makes us triumph over all the power of the enemy and the very gates of hell, which cannot prevail against us.

I suppose, now it appears plainly to every one, that these things are no impeachments of God's mercy: though he, first, suffers temporal calamities, and death among these, as the natural effects of sin, to befall the penitent sinners after par-

don; though he sometimes, secondly, sends providential afflictions on them; though, thirdly, he visits them sometimes with fears and tremblings upon the remembrance of their by-past sins; though, fourthly, he leaves them still under the remains and strugglings of human infirmity, and lesser failings and corruptions; though, fifthly, he permits them to be liable to temptations, and to be troubled with black and ugly thoughts, darted into their minds against their wills, by the power and subtlety of Satan; yet for all this he is a merciful Father to them: and, "as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him."

I cannot close this Discourse without making *these few moral reflections on it by way of inference from what has been said.*

1. That the sense of God's mercy in pardoning the greatest of sinners *should encourage all others to return to him, in the sincerity of their hearts with hopes of mercy.* There can be no sin greater than that of murdering Christ, and yet God was pleased to pardon it, for the encouragement of others who should repent in future ages. There can be no service less than that of the widow's two mites, and yet God was pleased to accept it, because it proceeded from "a willing mind," and was answerable to the ability which God had given her, who never requires of any man more than he first enables him to perform.

2. The consideration of God's leaving sometimes temporal afflictions upon men after he pardons their sin *should teach us to entertain right and honourable thoughts of God's mercy;* not to repine at his hand or dealings with us in any other respect, if he grants us the remission of our sins; but to be patient and content under any other afflictions, when we are assured they are not arguments of his wrath, but rather indications of his goodness and mercy, who knows what is most convenient for us; as Moses told the Israelites, "Thou shalt consider, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee." [Deut. 8, 5.]

3. The sense of God's mercy in pardoning our sins *should raise in us the highest affections of love and gratitude to him again.* For what a ravishment is it for a desponding, poor, afflicted soul to be delivered from the fears of hell, and to hear

Christ say as it were, "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise!" What thanks can any man render to God for such a blessing, less than the obedience of his whole life? What zeal can be too great in serving such a Master? If we offer our bodies and souls "a living sacrifice" to God, and serve and glorify him in both continually, it is but "a reasonable service" to him, who hath redeemed both from hell. Let all those therefore who have the sense of God's favour in the pardon of their sins, be as sensible of their own obligations to glorify him both in body and soul continually, that they may "show forth the praises of him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

4. Lastly, the consideration of God's mercy and pity to us *should teach us in every instance of it to imitate his blessed example:* to "put on bowels of mercy," to "be kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us:" to pity those who know not their own misery, nor have any power or will to help themselves: to "have compassion on the ignorant, and them that are out of the way:" to bear with their infirmities, and even their prejudices, and dulness, and obstinacy, as God many times does with ours; "in meekness instructing those who oppose themselves, if God peradventure may give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth." Here every man is allowed to have his share in the Christian priesthood, to call and convert, and save as many as he can by his private instructions and public example; that he may in this way also "show forth the praises of him who hath called him out of darkness into his marvellous light." None are better qualified for this office than they who have signally experimented God's mercy themselves. They must needs be the best monitors to others who have felt the misery and slavery of sin in their own hearts, and know the happiness of pardon and deliverance in their own persons. It was therefore our Saviour's admonition to St. Peter, upon the view of his falling and rising again, "when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." [Luke 22, 32.] And there are infinite reasons to engage penitent converts to this:—

First, compassion to human nature, to relieve men from that thraldom which they themselves were once engaged in. Then,

again, gratitude to God to promote his glory; which is chiefly done by the conversion of sinners, whilst "our light so shines before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven." Which is a zeal that ought to be in every true convert, and commonly is in those who have been themselves great and eminent sinners. For they to whom God forgives much commonly love him the more and labour more abundantly in his service, as St. Paul did in consideration that he had obtained mercy of God, who had been once the greatest of sinners. Add to this the honour of the office and employment, than which nothing can be more glorious: for it makes us "workers together with God," and a sort of under-saviours to mankind. For, says St. James, [5, 20,] "Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; let him know that he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." Finally, it is most beneficial and advantageous to ourselves, as it gives us a title to a greater degree of glory in another world. For "they that be teachers[5] shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." [Dan. 12, 3.]

It is impossible to give greater encouragement: God grant us his grace to obtain it, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be ascribed, as is most due, all honour, might, majesty and dominion, both now and for evermore. Amen.

[5] See before, p. 448. n. 34.

THE INDICES

TO THE

FRENCH CHURCH'S APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

THE

LETTERS AND SERMONS ON ABSOLUTION,

AND THE OTHER SERMONS.

I. AUTHORS. II. MATTER.

INDEX OF AUTHORS,

CITED THROUGHOUT THE

FRENCH CHURCH'S APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

THE

LETTERS AND SERMONS ON ABSOLUTION,

AND THE OTHER SERMONS.

A.

1 ADAM [a], Melchior. Vitæ Germanorum Theologorum, qui Superiori Seculo Ecclesiam Christi voce scriptisque propagarunt et propugnarunt, congestæ et ad annum usque 1618 deductæ. (Heidelbergæ, 1620. 8vo.) Itidem, 1626. 8vo. *semel.*

2 ALBASPINÆUS, Gabriel. Observationes, &c. Paris. 1631. fol. (ap. Opera Varia ad calcem *Optati* [b], Paris. 1679. fol.) *Let.* 2. *on Absolut.*

3 ALTING [c], Henry. Theologia Problematica Nova: sive, Systema Problematum Theologicorum, &c. (ap. tom. secund. Scriptor. Theolog. Heidelberg. Freistad. 1646. 2 tom. 4to.) *semel.*

4 AMBROSIUS [d], Sanctus. Opera, Basil. 1567. 3 tom. fol. (Ed. Bened. Paris. 1689–90. 2 tom. fol.) *sæpe.*

5 AMYRALDUS [e], [Amyraut,] Moses. De Libertate Christiana:

[a] He was Rector of a College at Heidelberg, and remarkable for his industry as a biographical writer. Died in 1622.

[b] See Index of Authors to Antiquities, v. 8. p. 190. No. 8. and p. 291. No. 559.

[c] See Index of Authors to Lay-Baptism, v. 9. p. 385. No. 4.

[d] See Index of Authors to Antiquities, v. 8. p. 192. No. 23.

[e] He was originally educated for the Law, but entering the ministry he became one of the brightest ornaments of the French Reformed Church. In 1633 he was Professor of Theology at Saumur with Capell or Cappell and La Place. He was a man of moderate views, though accused of Arminianism on account of a work on predestination which was obnoxious to the ultra-Calvinists. He was much respected by Cardinal Richelieu and other influential Romanists.

ap. Part. Quart. Thesium Theologicarum Salmuriensium. (Salmur. 1665. 4to.) *semel.*

6 ANDREWS, Lancelot, Bp. of Winchester, A. D. 1600. Responsio ad Epist. Secund. Molinæi: inter Opuscula quædam Posthuma (Lond. 1629. 4to.) Reprinted for the Anglo-Catholic Library, Oxf. 1852. 8vo. *semel.*

7 ANONYMOUS. A short History of Valentinus Gentilis, &c. See afterwards, *South*, No. 113.

8 ANSWER of the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, both Proctors, and other Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford, to the Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church. (Oxford, 1605. 4to.) *semel.*

9 ARTICULI Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Latine: ap. Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genevæ. 1612. 4to. (Aurel. Allobrog. 1612. 4to., *semel.*

10 ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES. The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith, &c. Lond. 1646. 4to. (Lond. 1647. 4to.) *semel.*

11 AUGUSTINUS[f], Sanctus. Opera. Paris. 1635. fol. (Ed. Bened. Paris. 1679–1700. 11 tom. fol.) *subinde.*

12 AYMON, John. Tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France: auxquels on ajoint des Mandemens Roiaux, et plusieurs Lettres Politiques sur ces Matières Synodales, intitulées, Doctrine, Culte, Morale, Discipline, Cas de Conscience, Erreurs, Impiétés, Vices, Désordres, Apostasies, Censures, Suspensions, Anathèmes, Griefs, Apels, Débas, Procédures, Décrets, &c. (A la Haye, 1710. 2 tom. 4to.) *Throughout the French Church's Apology in conjunction with the references to Quick's Synodicon.* See afterwards, No. 102.

B.

13 BANCROFT, Richard, D.D., Archbp. of Canterbury in 1604. Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within the Island of Britain under pretence of Reformation and for the Presbyterian Discipline. (London, no date[g], 4to.) *semel.*

14 BARNABAS, Sanctus. Epistola; juxt. Edit. Vossii. (Amstel. 1646. 4to.) Edit. Secund. Londini, 1680. 4to. *Serm. on Divin. of Christ.*

15 BAXTER, Richard.

1. The English Nonconformity, as under King Charles II., truly

[f] See Index of Authors to Antiquities, v. 8. p. 199. No 64.

[g] In the Author's Catalogue prefixed to his original edition of the Apology in 1706 the date is given 1640, which probably is that of a second or of a third edition, for the archbishop died at Lambeth in 1610.

stated and argued, &c. (Lond. 1689. 4to.) *Throughout the French Church's Apology.*

2. A Petition for Peace, with the Reformation of the Liturgy, as it was presented to the Right Reverend Bishops by the Divines appointed by his Majesty's Commission to treat with them about the Alteration of it. (Lond. 1661. 4to.) *subinde.*

16 BELLARMINUS, Cardinalis.

1. De Christo: (ap. t. 1. Oper. Colon. Agripp. 1619–20. 4 tom. in 2 vol. fol.) *Serm. on Trin.*
2. De Sacramento Baptismi: (ap. t. 3. Oper. ut supr.) *semel.*

17 BERNARD[h], Nicholas, D.D.

1. Bishop Ussher's Judgment of the Ordination by Presbyters in other Reformed Churches, &c. (Lond. 1657. 8vo.) *semel.*
2. Bishop Ussher's Judgment; of Babylon being the present See of Rome; of Laying on of hands, &c.; of the old Form of Words in Ordination, and of a set Form of Prayer, &c. (Lond. 1659. 8vo.) *semel.*

18 BEVERIDGE, William, D.D.

1. Pandectæ, &c. (Oxon. 1672. 2 tom. fol.)[i] *Let. on Absol.*
2. Codex Canonum Vindicatus: (ap. *Cotelerii* Patr. Apost. t. 2. Antwerp. 1698. 2 tom. fol.)[k] *semel.*

19 BEZA[l], Theodorus.

1. Epistolarum Theologicarum Liber Unus. (Genevæ, 1573. 8vo.) *sæpe.*
2. Annotationes in Novum Testamentum. Genevæ, 1582. fol. (Cantabrigiæ, 1642. fol.) *bis.*
3. Epistola Dedicatoria Reginæ Elizabethæ Nov. Test. Præfixa: (juxt. Ed. Cantabr. ut supr.) *bis.*
4. Contra Saraviam: sive, Ad Tractationem de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus ab Hadriano Saravia editam. Francofurt. 1601. 8vo. (Excudebat Johannes Le Preux, Genevæ, 1592. 8vo.) *bis.*
5. Abstersio Calumniarum Tolemanni Hishusii: (int. Opuscula, Genevæ, 1658. fol.) *semel.*
6. Præfatio in Conciones Calvini in Librum Job: (ap. t. 2. Oper. Calvin. Amstel. 1667. 9 tom. fol.) *bis terve.*
7. Vita Calvini: (ap. Vitas Theologorum Exterorum a Melch. Adam coactas. Francofurt. 1618. 8vo. ad calc. Vitar. German. Theologor. Heidelbergæ, 1620.) Item, Francofurt. 1653. 8vo. See also before, No. 1. *bis.*

[h] He was originally ordained by Abp. Ussher in 1626 and soon promoted to the Deanery of Ardagh. Returned to England in 1642, when he became Rector of Whitchurch in Shropshire, and afterwards Chaplain to Cromwell and Preacher at Gray's Inn. Died in 1661.

[i] See Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 211. No. 94.

[k] See ibid. and p. 236. No. 204.

[l] Ibid. p. 212. No. 95.

22 BOCHART[n], Sam., Minister of Caen i
ad Jesuitam Le Barre de tolerandis L
Librum de Tribus in Gallia Religionit
et Reformata, &c. Anno 1673. 12mo.

23 BONA[o], Cardinalis. Rer. Liturg. l. 1. (
lon. 1674. 8vo. (Venet. 1764. fol.) *L*

24 BRAMHALL[p], John, D.D. Archbishop
tion to the Bishop of Chalcedon's Surv
the Church of England from Criminal S
(In vol. 2. of the Whole Works reprinte
Library, Oxford, 1842. 5 vols. 8vo.) *s*

25 BULL[q], George, D.D. Defensio Fidei Nic
Scripta, &c. (Lond. 1721. fol.) *Serm.* (

C.

26 CALDERWOOD[r], David, al. Edvardus Di
mascenum: seu, Politia Ecclesiæ Anglic
Scoticanæ a Formalista quodam delineat
nata, &c. (S. L. 1623. 4to.[s]) Ed. Sec. pr
emendatior, Lugdun. Batav. 1708. 4to.

[m] The Theological Theses of Le Blanc were originally published by Richard Baxter, with whose doctrinal views they fully accord. They treat of Faith, the Authority, Sufficiency, &c. of the Scriptures, God, Predestination, Justification, Free Will, the Necessity of Grace, Good Works, the Use and Efficacy of the Sacraments, the Power of the Pope, the Authority of Councils, &c.

[n] Born at Rouen in 1500 [illegible] mother

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in one v

27 CALVINUS, [John Calvin, the Reformer.]
1. Commentarius in Ep. ad Hebræos. (Oper. Amstel. 1667. t. 7. p. 174.) *semel.*
2. Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis. (ibid. t. 8. p. 12.) *semel.*
3. Formula Precum Publicarum, &c. (ibid. p. 29.) *subinde.*
4. De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ. (ibid. p. 37.) *bis terve.*
5. Formula Confessionis Fidei, &c. anno 1562. (ibid. p. 92.) *semel.*
6. Antidotum adversus Decreta Concilii Tridentini. (ibid. p. 216.) *semel.*
7. Vera Ecclesiæ Reformandæ Ratio. (ibid. p. 272.) *ter.*
8. Adversus fanaticam et furiosam Sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant. (ibid. p. 374.) *semel.*
9. Responsio ad Versipellem quendam Mediatorem. (ibid. p. 304.) *semel.*
10. Secunda Responsio adv. Westphalum. [al. Secunda Defensio de Sacramentis Fidei contra Joachimi Westphali Calumnias. (ibid. p. 569.) *subinde.*
11. Admonitio et Epistola ad Fratres Polonos. (ibid. p. 590.) *Serm. de Trin.*
12. Institutiones. Genev. 1592. 8vo. (ap. Oper. ut supr. t. 9.) *sæpe.*
13. Epistolæ et Responsa. (ibid.) *sæpius.*

28 CALVISIUS, Sethus.
1. Opus Chronologicum ex auctoritate S. Scripturæ et Historicorum fide dignissimorum ad motum Luminarium Cœlestium, tempora, et annos distinguentium, &c. Franc. ad Od. 1620. fol. Franc. ad Mœn. 1683. fol. *See Fr. Ch. Apol. b. 3. ch. 8.*
2. Formula Calendarii Novi, &c. Lips. 1613. 4to. *See ibid.*

29 CANONS and Constitutions of the Church of England: (at the end of the edition of the Oxford University Press, 1844. 8vo.) *sæpius.*

30 CAPELLUS, s. Cappellus, Ludovicus[t]. De Liturgia: Disput. 47. ap. Part. Tert. Thes. Theolog. Salmuriens. *Amyraldi.* (Salmur. 1665. 4to.) Vid. supr. No. 5. *subinde.*

31 CASAUBON[u], Isaac. Præfatio Exercitationum in Baronii Annales, &c. (Lond. 1614. fol.)

larged work, in Latin. It was originally written in English, and published in 1621 under the title of *The Altar of Damascus.* See 2 Kings 16, 10.

[t] Louis, the younger brother of James Cappel, the most learned and eminent of his family, was born at Sedan in 1585. He studied while a young man at Oxford, and afterwards returning to France, became Minister and Professor of Hebrew and Divinity at Saumur. Died in 1658. He is said to have given great offence to the French Protestants by impugning the absolute integrity of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament in his *Critica Sacra.*

[u] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 221. No. 145.

32 CATELLUS, Gulielmus. Historia Occitana, &c. (See Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc, &c. A' Tolose, 1633. fol.) *semel.*

33 CÉNE[x], Charles Le. Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Françoise de la Bible. (Rotterdam, 1696. 8vo.) *semel.*

34 CHAMIER[y], Daniel. Panstratia, &c. (Genev. 1626. 4 tom. fol.) *sæpe.*

35 CHEMNITIUS, [Chemnitz[z],] Martinus. Doctrinæ Jesuitarum præcipua capita, &c., confutata. (Rupeliæ, 1584. 8vo.) *semel.*

36 CHRYSOSTOMUS[a], Sanctus. Hom. 3. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. Adversus Vitæ Monasticæ Vituperatores. De Cruce et Latrone. (Vid. int. Oper. juxt. Ed. Benedictin. Paris. 1718–38. 13 tom. fol.) *ter.*

37 CODEX Ecclesiæ Africanæ: (ap. Labb. et Cossart. Concil. t. 2. Lutet. Paris. 1671. fol.) *semel.*

38 CONCILIUM Milevitanum: (ap. Labb. et Cossart. ibid.) *bis.*

39 CONCILIUM Lateranum sub Innocentio III.: (ap. Labb. et Cossart. t. 11.) *Serm. on Trin. semel.*

40 CORPUS et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, &c.[b] (Aureliæ Allobrogum, 1612. 4to.) *subinde.*

41 CRAKANTHORP[c], Richard. Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c. Lond. 1625. 4to. (Reprint, Oxford, 1847. 8vo.) *semel.*

42 CYPRIANUS[d], Cæcilianus. Opera: juxt. Ed. Fell, Oxon. 1682. fol. (juxt. Ed. Amstel. 1700. fol.) *sæpissime.*

43 CYRILLUS[e], S. Alexandrinus.

1. Lib. 12. in Johannem: (ap. t. 4. Oper. Paris. 1638. 7 tom. fol.) *Serm. 1. on Absol.*
2. Dialogus 1. de Trinitate: (ap. t. 5. Oper. ut supr.) *Serm. on Trin.*

D.

44 DALLÆUS, [Daillé[f],] Johannes.

1. De Objecto Cultus Religiosi, &c. (Genevæ, 1664. 4to.) *semel.*
2. Replique à Mess. Adam et Cottiby. Genevæ, 1662. 4to. (Itidem, 1669. 4to.) *subinde.*

45 DAMASUS: ap. Theodoretum, Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 11. juxt. Ed. Valesii, Paris. 1673. (Cantabr. 1720. fol.) *sem*

46 DIDOCLAVIUS. See before, *Calderwood*, No. 26.

[x] Born at Caen, in Normandy, in 1647. Died, in 1703, in England, whither he had retired upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His doctrinal views are said to have been of a Socinian tendency. His plan for a new French version of the Bible, though much criticised and opposed, was eventually executed by his son Michael, and published at Amsterdam in 1741, in 2 vols. fol.

[y] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 223. No. 161.

[z] See ibid. No. 163. note o.

[a] See ibid. p. 224. No. 167.

[b] See ibid. p. 234. No. 198.

[c] See ibid. p. 237. No. 208.

[d] See ibid. p. 238. No. 217.

[e] See ibid. p. 242. No. 219.

[f] See ibid. p. 243. No. 223.

47 DURELL[g], John, D.D.

1. A View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; wherein is shewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England, as it is established by the Act of Uniformity. (Lond. 1661. 4to.) *bis terve.*
2. Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus iniquas atque invereundas Schismaticorum Criminationes Vindiciæ. (Lond. 1669. 4to.) *ter.*

48 EHINGER[h], M. Elias. Apostolorum et Sanctorum Conciliorum Decreta. (Wittebergæ, 1614. 4to.) *semel.*

49 ESTIUS[i], Gulielmus. In Sententiarum l. 1. distinct. 25. s. 3. (ap. t. 1. Ed. Paris. 1638.) *Serm. on Trin.*

50 EUGENII Decretum ad Armenos, ad calc. Concilii Florentini: (ap. Labb. et Cossart. Concil. t. 13.) *semel. Serm. 1. on Absol.*

F.

51 FAULKNER, or FALKNER[j], Wm., D.D. Libertas Ecclesiastica, &c. (Lond. 1677. 8vo. Third Ed.) *subinde.*

52 FELL[k], Joh., D.D., Bp. of Oxford. Notæ in Cyprianum: ap. Ed. Oper. Oxon. 1682. fol. (Amstel. 1700. fol.) *Lett. 2. on Absol.*

53 FORBES[l], John. Irenicum Amatoribus Veritatis, &c. Aberdeen, 1636. 4to. (Aberdoniæ, 1629. 4to.) *bis.*

54 FOWLER[m], Edward, D.D., Bp. of Gloucester, 1691. The Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England, abusively called *Latitudinarians*, truly represented and defended. (Lond. 1671. 8vo. Sec. Ed.) *semel.*

55 FULGENTIUS, Ruspens. Episc. De Fide ad Petrum: int. Oper. Augustini, juxt. Ed. Basil. 1629. t. 3. (Ed. Benedict. 1679–1700. t. 6. Append. pp. 19, seqq.) *Serm. on Trin.*

G.

56 G. G. The History of the Church of Great Britain, &c. (Lond. 1675. 4to.) *semel.*

57 GABUTIUS, Johannes Antonius. De Vita et Rebus Gestis Pii V. Pont. Max. Libri Sex. (Romæ, 1605. fol.) *semel.*

[g] Born in Jersey, 1625. Entered at Merton College, Oxford, in 1640. He withdrew to France during the Commonwealth, but, returning to England at the Restoration, became Minister of the French Church in the Savoy. He was made Prebendary of Salisbury and Canon of Windsor in 1663, Dean of Windsor in 1667, and preferred at the same time to the valuable Rectory of Witney, in Oxfordshire.

[h] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 246. No. 256. n. o, on p. 247.

[i] See ibid. No. 266. p. 249.

[j] See ibid. p. 251. No. 286.

[k] See ibid. p. 252. No. 291.

[l] See ibid. p. 253. No. 303.

[m] He was educated as a Presbyterian, but conformed at the Restoration. Died in 1714.

58 GREGORIUS, Nazianzenus. Oratio Vicesima Nona. (int. Oper. Paris. 1609. 2 tom. fol.) *Serm. on Trin.*

59 GREGORIUS, Magnus. Homilia 26. ex 40. in Evangelia: int. Oper. Antwerp. 1615. (Paris. 1705. 4 tom. fol.) *Let.* 1. *on Absol.*

60 GROTIUS, Hugo. Annotat. in Luc. 6, 22. (ap. t. 2. vol. 1. Oper. Londini, 1679. 4 tom. fol.) *semel.*

H.

61 HERMES, s. Hermas, Pastor: (ap. Cotelerii Patr. Apost. t. 1. Antwerp. 1692.) *Serm. on Div. of Christ.*

62 HIERONYMUS[n], Sanctus. Opera. Basil. 1565. 4 tom. fol. (Ed. Vallars. Veron. 1734–42. 11 tom. fol.) *sæpius.*

63 HILARIUS[o], Pictaviensis Episc. De Synodis, &c. (Oper. t. 2. Veron. 1730. fol.) *Serm. on Trin.*

64 HILDERSHAM, Arthur. One hundred and fifty-two Lectures on the Fifty-first Psalm[p]. Lond. 1642. fol. (Lond. 1635. fol.) *semel.*

65 HINCMARUS, Rhemensis Episc. Opuscula 55. Capitularium: (int. Oper. Lutet. Paris. 1645. 2 tom. fol.) *Let.* 1. *on Absol.*

66 HOTTINGER, John Henry, of Zurich, D.D.

1. Historia Ecclesiastica. (Hanov. et Tigur. 1656–1667. 9 vol. 8vo.)[q] *semel.*

2. [Smegma Orientale, Sordibus Babarismi, Contemptui præsertim Linguarum Orientalium, Oppositum. (Heidelbergæ, 1658. 4to.) *semel.*]

I.

67 IGNATIUS, Sanctus. Epistola ad Ephesios: (juxt. Ed. Vossii, Amstel. 1646. 4to.) Lond. 1680. 4to. Ed. Sec. *Serm. on Div. of Christ.*

68 INNOCENTIUS[r] I. Papa. Epistolæ: (ap. Labb. et Cossart. Concil. t. 2.) *sæpe.*

69 IRENÆUS, Sanctus. Adversus Hæreses, l. 4. c. 14. (ap. t. 1. Oper. Venet. 1734. 2 tom. fol.) *Buy the Truth.*

J.

70 JACOBUS, Magn. Britann. Rex. Epistola ad Synod. Tonnin. ann. 1614. c. 19. (Vid. ap. Quicke et Aymon.) *semel.*

[n] See Index of Authors, as before, p. 264. No. 381.

[o] See ibid. p. 267. No. 382.

[p] This is a scarce and valuable book. It contains a vast amount of experimental and practical divinity. The author was Rector of Ashby de la Zouch in 1593. He was a truly pious and learned Puritan; but was often suspended on account of irregularity in respect of church-discipline. He died in 1631.

[q] From Sæc. 1 to 14 at Hanover, 1655–56, and from Sæc. 15 to the end of Sæc. 16 at Zurich, 1657–67. See Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 269. No. 395.

[r] See Index of Authors, as before, p. 270. No. 408.

71 JUSTINUS Martyr. Opera Gr. et Lat. (Paris. 1615. fol.) *subinde.*

L.

72 LEONTIUS, Byzantinus. De Sectis, Gr. et Lat. (ap. Biblioth. Patr. Gallandii, t. 12.) *Dedicat. to Serm. on Div. of Christ.*

73 L'ESTRANGE[s], Hamon. The Alliance of Divine Offices, &c. Lond. 1690. fol. (Reprint for Anglo-Catholic Library. Oxford, 1846. 8vo.) *ter.*

74 LIMBORCH, Philip à. Theologiæ Christianæ, l. 7. c. 19. n. 4. juxt. Ed. Amstel. 1686. 4to. Itidem, 1715. fol.) *bis.*

75 LITURGY. King Edward the Sixth's First Book, in L'Estrange's Alliance, &c., as above. See No. 73, preceding. *semel.*

76 LITURGIA TIGURINA: or, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments and other Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies, usually practised and solemnly performed in all the Churches and Chapels of the City and Canton of Zurich in Switzerland, &c. Translated, &c., by John Conrad Werndly[t], formerly Minister of the French and Dutch Congregation of Santoff in the Isle of Axholme in the County of Lincoln, and now Minister of Wraisbury cum Langley in the County of Bucks. (Lond. 1693. 8vo.) *semel.*

77 LOMBARDUS[u], Petrus, Episc. Parisiens. Liber Sententiarum. Lugdun. 1594. 8vo. (Colon. Agripp. 1566. 12mo.) *subinde.*

78 LUTHER, Martin. Ep. ad Johan. Thurzo: ap. Oper. t. 2. Jenæ, 1600. Citante Sculteto, ad ann. 1524. p. 201. Annal. (Heidelb. 1618. p. 204.) *semel.*

M.

79 MÆSTINUS, Michael, Gœppingensis in Acad. Tubing. Math. Prof. Alterum Examen et Novi Pontificialis Gregoriani Kalendarii. (Tubingæ, 1586. 4to.) *semel.*

80 MARTYR[x], Peter.

1. Loci Communes, &c. Lond. 1583. fol. (Genev. 1624. fol.) *subinde.*

2. Epistolæ Theologicæ, in Append. ad Loc. Commun. (ut supr.) *subinde.*

3. [Defensio Doctrinæ Veteris Apostolicæ de Sacrosanctæ Eucharistiæ Sacramento, &c., adv. Steph. Gardineri .... Librum, &c. (Tiguri, 1559. fol.) *semel.*

81 MEGGERLIN, Petrus. Commentarius Chronologicus, ad calcem Theatri Divini Regiminis, &c. (Basil. 1683. 4to.) *semel.*

82 MASON, Francis, D.D. A Defence of the Ordination of the Protestant Ministers beyond the Seas, &c.[y] (Oxford, 1641. 4to.) *semel.*

[s] See ibid. p. 280. No. 461.
[t] See ibid. p. 332. No. 818.
[u] See ibid. p. 282. No. 477.
[x] See ibid. p. 285. No. 506.
[y] In the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8, p. 285, No. 509, this

83 MELANCTHON[z], Philip. Loci Theologici: (ap. t. 1. Operum, Wittebergæ, 1601. 2 tom. fol.) *Serm. on Div. of Christ.*

84 MORINUS[a], Johannes. Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, &c. (Antwerp. 1682. fol.) *Let. 2 on Absol.*

85 MORTON, or MORETON, Thomas, D. D., Bishop of Durham in 1632. 'ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ 'ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ, or, The Episcopacy of the Church of England justified to be Apostolical from the Authority of the Ancient Primitive Church, and from the Confessions of the most famous Divines of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas. Before which is prefixed a Preface to the Reader concerning this subject by Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart. (Lond. 1670. sm. 8vo.) *semel.*

86 MOULIN[b], [Molinæus,] Peter Du.

1. Novelty of Popery, &c. Lond. 1664. fol. (Lond. 1662. fol.) *subinde.*
2. The Buckler of Faith, &c. (Lond. 1631. 4to.) *subinde.*

87 MOYNE[c], Stephen Le: cited in Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, &c.[d] (Lond. 1681. 4to.) *semel.*

O.

88 ONUPHRIUS, sive Panvinus, Veronensis. Vita Pauli IV.: cum Platinæ Vitis Pontificum, &c. Colon. Agripp. 1611. 4to. *semel.*

89 [ORIGANUS, David, Glacensis. Math. Prof. in Academ. Septemviral. March. Bradenburg.

1. Ephemerides Novæ Annorum triginta sex ab A. D. 1595 in ann. 1630. &c. Franc. ad Viadr. 1599. 4to.
2. Novæ Motuum Cœlestium Ephemerides Brandenburgicæ ab ann. 1595 in ann. 1655. &c. Franc. ad Viadr. 1609. 3 tom. 4to. *semel.*]

90 ORIGENES, Adamantius.

1. Hom. 2. in Diversis. (Oper. t. 3. juxt. Ed. Ascensian. 1522.) *Serm. on Trin.*
2. Hom. 1. in Genesim. (Oper. t. 4. ibid.) *Serm. on Div. of Christ.*
3. De Principiis. (Oper. t. 1. juxt. Ed. Bened. 1733—59.) *ibidem.*
4. Contra Celsum. (Oper. ibid.) *ibidem.*

91 OSTERVALD, John Fred. The Causes of Decay of Christian Piety, &c.[e] (Lond. 1671. 8vo.) *Buy the Truth.*

book is entitled *A Defence of the Ordinations of Ministers of the Reformed Churches*, but it is not cited in that part of our Author's works.

[z] Professor of Greek in the University of Wittemberg in 1518. His *Loci Theologici* were first published in 1545. The famous Confession of Augsburg was drawn up by him. Died in 1560.

[a] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 288. No. 528.

[b] See ibid. No. 532.

[c] See ibid. p. 289. No. 533.

[d] See ibid. p. 316. No. 731.

[e] See ibid. p. 293. No. 564. note r.

92 OTHO, [Ott,][f] Johannes. Lexicon Rabbinnicum Philologicum. (Genev. 1675. 8vo.) *semel.*

P.

93 PACIANUS, Sanctus. Sermo de Baptismate: (ap. Gallandium, t. 7.) *Serm.* 1. *on Absol.*

94 PARÆUS, s. Pareus, David. Irenicum: sive, De Unione et Synodo Evangelicorum concilianda, Liber Votivus, Paci Ecclesiæ et Desideriis Pacificorum dedicatus. (Heidelbergæ, 1615. 4to.) *semel.*

95 PARÆUS, s. Pareus, Philippus, Davidis Filius. Epistola Dedicatoria ante Catechismum Ursini[g]. Heidelbergæ, 1651. 8vo.

96 PARKER, Robert, A.M. Fellow of Bene't College, Cambridge, in 1583. De Politeia Ecclesiastica Christi et Hierarchica opposita, Libri Tres: in quibus tam Veræ Disciplinæ Fundamenta, quam Omnes fere de eadem Controversiæ summo cum Judicio et Doctrina methodice pertractantur. (Francofurt. 1616[h]. 8vo.) *semel.*

97 PEARSON, John, D.D. Bp. of Chester in 1673. No Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine of the Church of England. (Lond. 1660. 4to.) [Also in vol. 2. of the Minor Theological Works, &c. By Edw. Churton, M.A. Canon of York, &c. Oxf. Univ. Press, 1844, where it forms the first of three Tracts relating to the subjects of the Savoy Conference.] *semel.*

98 PETAVIUS, Dionysius. De Trinitate: (ap. part. 1. t. 2. Operis de Theologicis Dogmatibus. Venet. 1757. fol.) *Serm on Trin.*

99 PLACE, [Placæus,] Joshua De la. Professor of Divinity at Saumur in 1633. De Imputatione Primi Peccati Adami in Academia Salmuriensi Disputatio. (Salmur. 1655. 4to.) [Disputationes Academiæ sub præsidio J. Placæi, de Imputatione Primi Peccati Adami, de Argumentis quibus efficitur, Christum prius fuisse, quam in utero B. V. conciperetur, et de Testimoniis et Argumentis, quibus probatur Jesum Christum esse Deum. Salmur. 1649–51. 3 vol. 4to.] *semel.*

100 POCOCKE, Edward, D.D. Professor of Arabic at Oxford in 1640.

1. Porta Mosis: sive, Dissertationes aliquot a R. Mose Maimonide ad Judæorum Disciplinam, Arab. et Lat. cum Notis, &c. Oxon. 1655. 4to. (In vol. 1. of the Theological Works by Leonard Twells, Lond. 1740. 2 vol. fol.) *semel.*

[f] See ibid. No. 565. note s.

[g] See ibid. p. 295. No. 583. note e. But I have committed an error in that place, by ascribing the *Notæ ad Symbol. Athanas. ad calc. Catechism. Ursin.* to David the father, whose era was 1592, instead of to Philip the son, who flourished in 1620, and died in 1648.

[h] Two years after his death in exile abroad in 1614.

2. Commentary on Micah 5, 2. (In the last part of the same.) *semel.*

Q.

101 QUICK, John. Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, &c.[l] (Lond. 1692. 2 vols. 8vo.) *passim.*

R.

102 RAINOLDUS, [Raynolds, or Rainolds[k],] Johannes, D.D. Theses de Scriptura et Ecclesia. Hanov. 1603. 8vo. (Lond. 1602. 8vo.) *semel.*

103 REASONS shewing the Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine, Worship, Rites, and Ceremonies, Church-government, and Discipline, humbly offered to the Serious Consideration of the Present Parliament by Divers Ministers of Sundry Counties in England. (Lond. 1660. 4to.) *sæpe.*

104 RIISSENIUS[l], Leonardus. Compendium Theologiæ Turretini. Amstel. 1694. 4to. (Lugd. Bat. et alib. 1731. 4to.) *semel.*

105 RIVETUS[m], Andreas.

1. Exercitationes in Genesim. Lugd. Bat. 1633. 4to. (ap. t. 1. Oper. Roterod. 1660. 3 tom. fol.) *semel.*
2. Catholicus Orthodoxus, &c. Roterod. 1692. fol. (ap. t. 3. Oper. ut supr.) *subinde.*
3. Disput. 35. ap. Synops. Purior. Theolog. Lugd. Bat. 1632. 8vo. (Itidem, 1642. 8vo. Ed. Tert.) *subinde.*

106 ROGERS, Thomas, M.A. Chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, and Rector of Hominger in Suffolk in 1581. The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, Professed and Protected in the Realm of England, expressed in Thirty-nine Articles, agreed upon in 1562 and 1604. The said Articles analysed into Propositions and proved: The Adversaries of note confuted: &c.[n] (Cambridge, 1681. 4to.) *bis.*

S.

107 SCALIGER[o], Joseph. Just.

1. Opus de Emendatione Temporum in Octo Libros tributum. (Lutet. 1583. fol.) *?*
2. Castigationes in Eusebii Chronicon cum Canonibus Isagogicis, &c. (Amstel. 1568. fol.) *?*

108 SCULTETUS, Abraham. Pastor at Heidelberg in 1598.

[l] See the full title at the commencement of the Preface to the French Church's Apology, &c.

[k] Dean of Lincoln in 1593, and President of C. C. C. Oxford, in 1598. He sided with the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference.

[l] See the Index of Authors to the Lay-Baptism, v. 9. p. 396. No. 100.

[m] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, v. 8. p. 307. No. 663.

[n] This useful work has been often reproduced, and under various titles, such as, The English Creed, &c.

[o] See the Index of Authors to the Antiquities, as before, p. 309. No. 680.

1. Concionum in Esaiam Prophetam ad Populum Haidelbergensem habitarum Idea. Genev. 1610. 8vo. (Hanov. 1609. fol.) *semel.*
2. Annalium Evangelii passim per Europam decimo quinto Salutis Partæ Sæculo renovati Decades. (Heidelberg. 1618. 8vo.) *bis.*

109 SHERLOCK, William, D.D. Dean of St. Paul's in 1691.
1. A Discourse about Church-Unity: being a Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation: &c. (Lond. 1681. 8vo.) *subinde.*
2. A Vindication of the Rights of Ecclesiastical Authority; being an Answer to the First Part of the Protestant Reconciler [by Dr. Whitby]. (Lond. 1685. 8vo.) *semel.*
3. A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, &c. (Lond. 1691. 4to. Sec. Ed.) *See the Preface to the Sermon on the Trinity*, p. 355, n. 3.

110 SIXTUS [p], Senensis. Bibliotheca Sancta, &c. Colon. 1586. fol. (Venet. 1575. 2 tom. 4to.) *semel.*

111 SOCRATES, Scholasticus. Historia Ecclesiastica; cum Notis Valesii. Paris, 1668. fol. (Cantabr. 1720. fol.) *sæpe.*

112 SOUTH, Robert, D.D. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1670 till his death in 1716.
1. Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Book, intitled, A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, &c. By a Divine of the Church of England. (Lond. 1693. 4to.) *Pref. to Serm. on Trin. and Div. of Christ.*
2. Tritheism charged on Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the Trinity; and the Charge made good; in Answer to the Defence of the said Notion [q] against the Animadversions, &c. (Lond. 1695. 4to.) *Not expressly cited but apparently alluded to in the Prefaces as above.*
3. A Translation of the History of Valentinus Gentilis by Benedict Aretius: with a Preface by N. N. (Lond. 1696. 8vo.) *In the Prefaces as above.*

113 SPANHEMIUS, [Spanheim,] Fred. Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, 1655, and at Leyden in 1670. Theses de Libertate Christianæ: ap. Durelli Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindicias. (Lond. 1664. 4to.) Vid. supr. No. 47. *semel.*

114 SPONDANUS, [De Sponde,] Henricus. Annalium Baronii Continuatio, &c. (Lugdun. 1678. 2 tom. fol.) *semel.*

115 SPOTSWOOD, Spoteswood, or Spotteswoode, John, D. D. Archbishop of St. Andrew's in 1615. The History of the Church and State of Scotland, beginning in the year 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of James VI., &c. (Lond. 1677. fol. Fourth Edition.) *semel.*

[p] See ibid. p. 313. No. 710. n. g.
[q] See 'A Letter to Dr. South upon occasion of a late Book, entitled Animadversions, &c.' Lond. 1693. 4to.

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123 THUANUS, [De Thou,] Jacobus Augustus. Chief Librarian at Orleans in 1593. Historiarum sui Temporis, ab anno Domini 1543, usque ad annum 1607, Libri Centum Triginta Octo: &c. Opus in Quinque Tomos distinctum, &c. (Genev. 1626–30. 5 tom. fol. in 3 vol.) *bis terve.*

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126 USHER[u], or Ussher, James, D.D. Archb. of Armagh in 1624.

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[r] See the Index of Authors to the *Antiquities*, v. 8. p. 316. No. 731.
[s] *See ibid.* p. 320. No. 754.
[t] See ibid. p. 324. No. 757.
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3. Judgment of the Ordinations by Presbyters in other Reformed Churches, &c. See before, *Nicholas Bernard*, No. 17.

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128 VICTORE[z], Richardus de Sancto. Abbot of St. Victor about the year 1130. Opera, quæ hactenus apparuere omnia, &c. (Venetiis, 1592. fol.) *Serm. on Trin. and Div. of Christ.*

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133 WHITBY, Daniel, D.D. Precentor of Salisbury in 1672. The Protestant Reconciler, humbly pleading for Condescension to Dissenting Brethren in things indifferent[a]. By a Wellwisher to the Church's Peace. (Lond. 1683. 8vo.) *semel.*

[x] There is also another edition of this book entitled, 'Appendix Ignatiana, in qua continentur Epistolæ ejus Genuinæ, Ignatii et Polycarpi Martyria, et Smyrnensis Ecclesiæ et Imperatorum quorundam de eodem Epistolæ, Gr. et Lat., cum Notis Jac. Usserii. Lond. 1647. 4to.'

[y] He was one of the most eminent Latin Scholars of the fifteenth century. He was born at Rome in 1406. In course of time he became Professor of Eloquence at Pavia, and afterwards at Milan. In 1443 he settled at Rome, on being made a Canon of St. John the Lateran, where however his free inquiries and liberal opinions often brought him into danger. Died in 1457.

[z] See the Sermon on the Divinity of Christ, p. 406, n. 17, where a brief account of this author is given.

[a] This work gave great offence to the high church party, so much so that the Author made a public retractation of it. In the Second Part of the Protestant Reconciler, (Lond. 1683. 8vo.) he 'earnestly persuades the Dissenting Laity to join in full communion with the Church.'

Y.

134 YELVERTON, Sir Henry, Bart. Preface to Bishop Morton's Episcopacy, &c. (Lond. 1670. 8vo.) See before, *Morton*, No. 85.

Z.

135 ZANCHIUS, Hieronymus. Professor of Divinity at Strasburg 1553, at Heidelberg in 1568, and at Newstadt in 1578. Opera Theologica. Genev. 1617–18. 8 tom. in 3 vol. fol.) *bis.*

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ADDENDUM.

See French Church's Apology, b. 2. ch. 2. p. 47. 'Now this is the case of the French Church, which Bishop Andrews and his followers allow to have all the necessary and essential notes of a true Church, though episcopal government was never settled among them.'

Soon after this passage appeared in print in 1706, M. Claude Groteste De la Mothe, minister of a French Church in London, but himself episcopally re-ordained, published a continuation of a previous work, which was entitled *Correspondence Fraternelle de l'Eglise Anglicane avec les Eglises Réformées, Londres* 1705, 12*mo.*, under the title of *Entretiens sur la Correspondence Fraternelle, &c., Londres* 1707, 12*mo.*, and at p. 247 of this second treatise he says, that the Author of the French Church's Apology for the Church of England seemed to intimate that Bishop Andrews was the first of our Reformed Divines to acknowledge the Reformed Churches beyond the sea as sister Churches, and appeared to give the opinion of Bishop Andrews and his followers as that of a party only in the Church of England. M. De la Mothe continues to say, and here I literally translate the French, 'that he could not help pointing out his difficulty to Mr. Bingham.' He then gives my Ancestor's reply in English: 'I did not intend to signify it to be the private opinion of Bishop Andrews and his followers, as any party of the Church; but as a generally received opinion, though not made so by any public act of the Church.' (See the Notes, p. 651.) M. De la Mothe's remark (p. 248,) upon this explanation, received by letter from my Ancestor, appears worthy of due consideration, viz. 'that such a formal decision as Mr. Bingham speaks of would imply that a doubt, as to the light in which the Reformed Churches were to be viewed, did once exist.' M. De la Mothe endeavours to show that such a doubt had never any place in the minds of our Reformed Divines, and most readers will perhaps be convinced that he proves the point abundantly.

I would only add, that Jablonski speaks in high terms of M. De la Mothe's publications as above, which he terms, 'deux savans traités,' in his Réflexions sur la Lettre de M. Bossuet. The same Author is also creditably noticed in Grainger's Biographical History of England, (vol. 2, p. 268,) as minister of the Savoy, from 1694 to at least 1708.

I am indebted for the preceding information to a stranger, whose remarks were communicated to me by my brother, the Rev. C. H. Bingham, the Incumbent of Ramsey, Hunts. Editor.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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